

# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 22, 1880.

## The Week.

THE significant political events of the week have been the Massachusetts Republican Convention at Worcester and the New York Democratic Convention at Syracuse. There were, in fact, two conventions at the latter place, but Mr. John Kelly's was so manifestly perfunctory that it hardly deserves mention. Few, we think, will estimate the trading capacity of this snubbed and disregarded faction as equal, for the Presidential campaign, to what it displayed in the anti-Robinson canvass last fall; fewer still will expect the Cincinnati Convention to treat its pretensions to be the Simon-Pure Democracy of New York with respect or even with patience. The proceedings of the regular body of delegates were, though not free from gallery interruptions, as calculated and certain as if Mr. Tilden were not notoriously on the verge of total paralysis. The contested seats were disposed of in the usual manner, and a missionary from the Kelly convention bearing overtures of reconciliation and harmony was politely handed over to the Committee on Resolutions, from which he never returned. That Committee reported resolves with a long preamble affirming adhesion to the principles set forth at St. Louis "and approved by decisive popular majorities in 1876," insisting on the fraud of Mr. Hayes's election, declaring "the momentous issue" to be this "right of the people to exercise and enjoy an elective self-government without impediment by force or fraud," expressing emphatically the party's "continued confidence in the character, ability, and fitness of that distinguished citizen of New York" best named by designating him as "elected to the highest office in the people's gift," and, without instructing the delegates to Cincinnati, respectfully suggesting to the brethren there that they take such action as shall best present the momentous issue aforesaid.

The length and the style of this document, but for Mr. Tilden's senility and decrepitude, would seem to indicate that he had a hand in drawing it up; and the same might be said of the "resolves," which were only a programme—to wit, that the delegation should vote as a unit in accordance with the will of the majority, and should promptly suppress any attempt to dismember or divide it by contesting the seats of any portion of it. The Kelly preamble was as long-winded as its rival, but then it had some additional points to make, such as that the division in the ranks of the New York Democracy was a deplorable thing, and had resulted "almost solely from the determined and persistent efforts of one man to secure the Democratic nomination to the Presidency"; that Tilden had planned and effected the defeat of the regular Democracy in New York City in 1878, and forced an obnoxious gubernatorial nomination and invited defeat of it in 1879; that he has degraded the Democratic organization into "machines run for the interest of one man and his personal following"; that he is unfit for the Presidency, and while his election would be a national calamity his nomination would ensure a Republican triumph; finally, that his "record is not clear," being full of scandals, and his name "irretrievably connected with attempts to bribe electors" and with the cipher despatches. No mention was allowed of his having been elected President in 1876. The resolutions which followed this indictment of Mr. Tilden were of a general character except in reiterating the danger of nominating him.

There was nothing in the doings at Syracuse on either side that could not have been anticipated. Mr. Kelly constantly forgets the limits of his field as a Boss compared with that of his arch-enemy as a Machinist; to say nothing of Mr. Tilden's sentimental claims on his party, which still have a certain validity even if, as is un-

doubtedly the case, they have been greatly weakened by the revelations as to his personal integrity since the cry of fraud was first raised on his behalf. Both parties concede the decisive importance of New York in the coming struggle, and the Democrats must look in the face the fact that if New York is to be carried by machinery and not by character, Mr. Tilden's hand is on the lever, whether his own nomination be in view or that of some one to be designated by him.

The resolutions of the Massachusetts Republican Convention declare a steadfast adherence to the principles of the party, belief in an honest currency, in the inviolable sovereignty of the National Union, and the Government's duty of protecting the ballot in all national elections; hold that free and honest elections are essential to the stability of popular government; praise the President for his attempts at civil-service reform, but demand legislative enactments for "adequate and permanent security against the misuse of the public service as a machinery of party organization"; plead for sectional harmony, and denounce alike those who seek to reverse the settlements of the war, and those who seek "to revive past controversies for political effect"; warn conventions that the duty of supporting party candidates implies the corresponding duty of presenting such as are "acceptable to all Republicans"; charge the Massachusetts delegates to promote the nomination of a candidate having the requisite qualifications for the Presidency, the confidence of his party, and the respect of "other patriotic citizens," and call their attention (without binding their action) to a Republican statesman who answers this description—Senator George F. Edmunds. The only other candidate named was Secretary Sherman, who was incidentally applauded for his able management of the finances.

Senator Dawes presided, and delivered a prolix discourse signifying nothing, and speeches were made by Gen. Banks and Mr. Boutwell in favor of Grant. But these two worthy gentlemen for once seemed ill at ease, and Mr. Boutwell's peculiar rhetoric probably never sounded quite so flat in his own ears. He was briefly and pointedly answered by Mr. James Freeman Clarke, and so far recovered his equanimity as to move the unanimous adoption of the resolutions. These were a disappointment to the Young Republican element in the Convention, but certainly neither the Blaine nor the Grant men have any cause to be elated by them. Mr. Sherman's adherents were strong enough to be worth placating, and, combined with Mr. Edmunds's, gave a two-thirds vote to the Edmunds delegates chosen. It is clear that Massachusetts will be anti-Grant and anti-Blaine in the Chicago Convention, and that the State cannot be relied on to vote for either at the November election.

The following remarkable passages appeared in Mr. Boutwell's speech:

"We have four millions of black fellow-citizens in the South who are as truly deprived of their political and civil rights as were the early Christians that in the city of Rome herded in the sewers and catacombs till the barbarians of the North came down and gave them freedom and liberty of conscience at the point of the bayonet." . . . "One was Lincoln, who by his proclamation of emancipation gave them liberty; the other was Grant [applause], who by the power of his individual will took command of our armies, redeemed us from despair at Donelsonville in 1862, and crowned our efforts with triumph at Appomattox in April, 1865. [Applause.]"

It thus appears that we have nearly all been mistaken in supposing that General Grant in the late war bore a commission from the President of the United States, and suppressed the rebellion in obedience to the Constitution. He did it *mero motu*, and we shall not be surprised to hear the boomsters say before long that he "deigned" to do it. It is also a surprise to some, at least, to learn

that the early Christians sought refuge in the Roman sewers, and that it was the barbarians who let them out, and that the bayonet was in use at that early period. Mr. Boutwell appears to be as strong in history as he is in astronomy.

There has been a long debate over the Geneva Award in the Senate, in which Messrs. Thurman, Conkling, Carpenter, Blaine, and Edmunds have all taken part. It is impossible that any new arguments should be produced on the subject, and the numerous plans now before the Senate for disposing of the balance in the hands of the Government have so confused matters that it is difficult to form any idea as to what the result will be. On Monday Mr. Carpenter exposed Mr. Blaine's ignorance of the law, and Mr. Blaine laid bare Mr. Carpenter's inconsistent "record" on the subject of the insurance claims. In the course of the debate Mr. Blaine compared the business of marine insurance to that of gambling as formerly practised at Homburg, and there was a good deal of rather ludicrous discussion about the genuineness of a letter alleged to have been written by Caleb Cushing. Mr. Cushing, as everybody who is familiar with the history of his connection with the Alabama claims knows, took different sides of the question as to the ownership of the money at different times, and one of his last appearances in connection with the case was his production by General Butler before one of the numerous committees that have examined the subject, to give testimony as an impartial witness familiar with the course of events at Geneva in favor of the war-premium claimants. He performed this, as he performed all professional duties, with consummate skill and adroitness; but his name has hardly been of much value since as an authority upon the proper distribution of the award.

The House Foreign-Affairs Committee has reported a joint resolution calling for the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850. This treaty provided for a sort of joint protectorate by the United States and Great Britain over any canal that might be cut through the isthmus by way of the river San Juan, both governments agreeing never to erect any fortification on any such canal, and never to assume any dominion over any part of Central America. The committee regards the establishment by Great Britain of the colony of "Bay Islands" off the Honduras coast in 1852, and the firing upon the American steamer *Prometheus* by the English brig-of-war *Express* in 1850, virtual violations of the treaty, and insists that the "Monroe Doctrine" now requires its abrogation. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, since the time when it effected its immediate object of allaying ill-feeling between the two countries, has never done much good to any one, and its abrogation will do no harm. Since the expulsion of the French from Mexico few European powers have felt any inclination to meddle with the United States and its "manifest destiny" so far as this continent is concerned. Perhaps the best proof of this is that even the theory recently put forward that any canal dug through the isthmus would form part of the "coast line" of the United States, has excited no hostility in Europe. We doubt if the immediate annexation of the whole centre of the continent would affect the relations of the United States to any European government. But even the "Monroe doctrine" is subordinate to general considerations of decency and fairness, and there is something at least unfair in our attitude with regard to the isthmus. The "Monroe Doctrine" as at present interpreted seems to consist in warning everybody off who threatens to make a highway for the commerce of the world, and at the same time doing nothing about it ourselves. Of this the commercial nations of the world may fairly complain.

There are scores of Republicans in New York City, natural leaders of the people, who are at the present moment wringing their hands over the third-term movement and all which that implies, and wondering why somebody does not do something to stop it.

Meanwhile a few young men unknown to fame, believing that they have a country worth laboring for, and tired of waiting for their natural leaders, have opened headquarters, organized a successful series of public meetings, and called a State Conference to meet at Albany on the 22d inst. to perfect a State organization and to appoint delegates to the St. Louis Mass Convention of the 6th of May, called by ex-Senator Henderson, Mr. Henry Hitchcock, and their associates. This St. Louis Convention was at first treated with cold water by a portion of the press which ought naturally to have sympathized with it, but it has grown in favor with the Anti-Third-Term Republicans both East and West, and now bids fair to be an important demonstration of that species of hostility to Grant and the third term which is founded upon principle, and is correspondingly resolute. It will probably go no farther at present than to record its solemn protest and warning, and appoint a committee to take action of some sort after the Chicago Convention.

The third-term movement makes a feeble showing in Illinois, if we may trust the representations of the Chicago *Tribune*, twelve counties with 85 delegates having elected only 27 Grant men, and Sangamon County having sent a divided delegation. The sudden journey of General Logan homeward is understood to have had some connection with this impediment to the boom. The Machine has now been put under a full head of steam, runners have been sent out in every direction, and every possible effort is making to reverse the current of party opinion as thus far revealed. Among other weighty arguments employed it is urged that General Logan's feelings would be hurt if the State should go for anybody except Grant. The Republicans of Missouri and Kentucky, as was expected, chose Grant delegations to Chicago last week, and instructed them to vote as a unit. There was an unruly but unavailing opposition in each State, which the Grant men treated with less courtesy, apparently, than their own decided majority could have afforded. In Kentucky the anti-third-term men complain of having been cheated at the primaries and bluffed at the convention, and in Missouri the colored men got badly snubbed. In the Iowa Convention, on the contrary, the utmost harmony prevailed, and the opposition gracefully acquiesced in the instruction of the delegation to vote as a unit and for Blaine.

The Grant meeting at Chicago on Thursday evening was respectable in point of numbers and in the character of the attendance—rather more so than in the character of the speakers. These were General Logan, Mr. Emery A. Storrs (who was Babcock's attorney in the whiskey trial and procured the publication of the famous order intimidating witnesses), and Mr. Leonard Sweet (a terrible anti-Grant man and coadjutor of Mr. E. W. Stoughton, General Banks, and other political purists of 1872). General Logan's speech was largely made up of apologies and excuses—excuses for the third term and apologies for "mistakes" made in the first and second terms—a rather ominous beginning of a Presidential campaign. Mr. Storrs made a vigorous attack upon the "Independent Scratchers," alleging among other offences of theirs that they commenced their unholy work by "scratching" President Lincoln in the campaign of 1864—an obvious untruth. The Wade-Davis-Frémont Radicals of 1864 all supported Mr. Lincoln, although protesting that the war ought to be given a more distinctly anti-slavery character than he had then adopted. There being no "Independent Scratchers" in Illinois as yet, it may be inferred that Mr. Storrs had the Young Scratchers of New York in mind, and his invective against them serves to show that they have impressed one boomster at a long distance from their base of operations. All the speakers put themselves in flat antagonism to General Grant's speech at Cairo respecting the present condition of the South and the great emergency which calls for the Strong Man—a most unexpected and singular conflict of authority, which we have discussed elsewhere.



The Philadelphia Boss, McManes, whose exploit at the Union League Club we noticed last week, has apologized to the House Committee for his breach of the rules. They had previously, however, begun to enquire into the affair, and had drawn from Mr. Lockwood, whom McManes assaulted, a very instructive account of the occurrence. It appears that the Boss approached Mr. Lockwood, "accompanied by fifteen or twenty politicians and city officials," among whom he "immediately fell back" as soon as he had called Mr. Lockwood a liar and struck at him; that, having been restrained by the doorkeeper from continuing the assault, he threatened to cowhide his adversary the next day, afterwards came up to him "with an augmented party" and threatened to "punish" him if he circulated another one of the obnoxious tracts, and ended by lying in wait for him in the street till towards midnight with some dozen of his friends, but suffered Mr. Lockwood to pass without molestation. All this shows that Mr. Henry C. Lea, who promptly avowed the authorship of the document which Mr. Lockwood was distributing, was fully as courteous as the case called for when he said that in linking McManes's name with Tweed's, he was not thinking of the convict phase of the latter's career. Mr. Lea expressed surprise that offence should be taken "at being included in a class wherein are likewise specifically mentioned Senators Cameron, Conkling, and Logan," and offered to correct his error if assured by McManes that his political power was neither actually nor intentionally "similar to that which Mr. Kelly exercises in the city and Mr. Conkling in the State of New York."

Some progress has been made with the Whittaker case during the week, and there have been several melodramatic incidents, which have served to keep up public interest in the enquiry. One of these was a statement made in court by Whittaker himself. A newspaper report of a conversation with him had made him say that he had no expectation of justice from the court. This report he pronounced a malicious and wanton falsehood. This is said to have produced a good effect, as it is just what an honorable white cadet might have been expected to do under the circumstances. The *Times*, which is the employer of the reporter contradicted by Whittaker, seems to be determined to sift the mystery thoroughly, and on Thursday of last week published a "clue" which pointed to three cadets who had been overheard talking at a low resort in the neighborhood of the school about a plan for hazing Whittaker. This reporter, however, has also been doomed to find the pursuit of truth a thankless task. On the publication of his "clue" he was immediately subpoenaed and sworn as a witness. Having taken the oath he declined to testify with regard to the facts on which the "clue" had been based, except as to a particular portion of it, and as to that he declined to testify until he could communicate with his "counsel." The officers at West Point are evidently not familiar with a New York view of the office of "counsel," and decided off-hand that no attention need hereafter be paid to anything the reporter said; on which the reporter entered a "protest." Mr. Gayler, the expert in handwriting, testifies that among the manuscripts of cadets which have been submitted to him he has found one in which the handwriting resembles that in the letter of warning addressed to Whittaker.

The Albany *Law Journal* is mistaken in the point the supposed Massachusetts trial was meant to illustrate in our recent article on Future Civil-Rights Cases. The decision in Strauder's case, that State statutes abridging civil rights are unconstitutional, rests on strong grounds, though it cannot be limited to statutes excluding colored persons from juries. The same principle applies to all other cases of statutory discriminations, and so it was held in the Queue case, in which it was determined that an ordinance prescribing shaving as a penal discipline was unconstitutional, since it deprived the Chinese as a race of the right to wear queues. The same reasoning will condemn statutes which by indirection, as well as by direction, exclude any class, sect, or nation from civil equal-

ity. This, however, is not the point which the Massachusetts trial was supposed to hinge on. That point is that a State judge who, following a statute of his own State, sustains a panel summoned in conformity with such statute, can be indicted and imprisoned for his erroneous ruling. The only way, it used to be thought, of reviewing an erroneous decision in such cases was by writ of error, by a writ for the removal of the case to a Federal court, or, it might be, by a writ of habeas corpus. Cole's case is the first in which it was ever held that a judge is liable to indictment for a ruling not alleged to be corrupt; and if Judge Cole is so indictable, there is no State judge who may not be proceeded against in the same way should he hold a State statute imposing discriminations of any kind (even discriminations against queues) to be operative.

The passage of the Anti-Discrimination Railroad Bill by the Assembly last week is the first and most important result of the legislative enquiry at Albany into the transportation problem. The chief provisions of the bill are those forbidding greater rates being charged for short than for long distances, and prohibiting discrimination in rates for the same services for different persons. Of these the first is entirely impracticable, as we have often pointed out in these columns. Rates of transportation are not governed by distance, but by the amount of business done and by competition, and the idea that rates will ever be based on distance alone is simply preposterous. Discrimination, however, which consists in giving one shipper unfair advantages over other shippers similarly situated is a gross abuse, and probably a very common one. It is certainly illegal, but the law in its present condition does not give the shipper any effective remedy. For this purpose the establishment of a railroad commission is necessary. The Massachusetts commission have, we believe, almost eradicated this sort of favoritism.

All the Wall Street markets were affected by the money stringency, which was maintained until the last day of the week. If the money market had not been taken in hand by the stock speculators it would probably have been active but not stringent to anything like the degree it was. As the result of the stringency there was a further decline in the prices of stocks, and those which are dealt in in London as well as in New York fell so that there was a profit in buying them here and selling them there. As this was done to a large extent, bills on London drawn against these stock shipments made the foreign exchange market weak, and carried the rates still further away from gold export. It is fortunate for the foreign exchanges that securities can be exported, and that the "bull" speculation here in exportable commodities has broken down so that they can be shipped, for the imports continue very heavy. Those at New York alone last week amounted to \$12,273,768 against \$6,749,043 in the corresponding week of last year, and to \$5,859,118 in the corresponding week of 1878. The merchandise speculation has had fully as much to do with making the money market active as has the wild speculation at the Stock Exchange; and it is well for all legitimate interests that speculation in all departments has been checked of late and forced into liquidation. The price of silver in London has advanced to 52*d.* to 52½*d.* per ounce, and the bullion value of the "buzzard dollar" to \$0.8836.

The chief foreign news of the week comes from Germany, where the Army Bill has been passed by the Reichstag, and the operation of the Socialist Law been extended to September 30, 1884, with an amendment protecting members of the national and state legislatures against a refusal of the right of residence on the part of local authorities. In England the Liberal majority in the new Parliament is now reported to be sixty over all opposition. Lord Beaconsfield has not yet tendered his resignation, but will probably have done so by the time this reaches our readers. The Liberal leaders are in consultation with Mr. Gladstone, and rumors of proposed arrangements for the Cabinet abound.

## GENERAL GRANT'S SPEECH AT CAIRO.

WHATEVER else may be said of General Grant's first and second campaigns for the Presidency, it must be admitted that personal dignity was an impressive feature in both. He went about his proper business and was noted everywhere as "the silent man." There is a great fund of latent strength in mere silence. In a candidate for the Presidency silence is an effective answer to calumny, and even against accusations which are not calumnies it is better than speech-making or letter-writing. In the mind of the ordinary voter silence implies power in reserve, and the amount being left wholly to the imagination often counts for more than its real value. Both General Grant and Mr. Tilden have profited largely by their talent for holding their tongues.

Since the former's return from Mexico he has found reasons for departing from this salutary custom, and has presented himself in the character not exactly of a public speaker but of a frequent commentator on public affairs; and his utterances are of a nature to confound the Stalwart school of politicians who have chosen him as their candidate for the Chicago nomination. He has taken a somewhat zigzag course through the South, in such a way, as he says, as "to have passed through a little bit of every one of the States lately in rebellion." It has happened that in several of these States conventions were about to be held to appoint delegates to the National Republican Convention. If any other candidate had been journeying thus, making short speeches here and there, it would have been said that he was plainly soliciting votes for the nomination; and probably unfavorable contrasts would have been drawn between him and other candidates who have stayed at home and preserved the appearance, at least, of leaving those matters to be decided by the people. At all events, General Grant has thrown down the shield of silence which has hitherto protected him, and invited attention to his views of national politics, having made a speech at Cairo, Illinois, on the 16th inst., embodying the results of his observations in all the States lately in rebellion.

When we compare his utterances with those of his principal supporters in the North we find differences so glaring that they cannot be passed over either before the Chicago nomination or after it—indeed less after it than now, if General Grant should himself be the nominee. In this speech he asserts his belief, founded upon personal observation, that the South is loyal to the Union, devoted to the old flag, and composed of good citizens—in short, that the South is not the rebellious, murdering, bull-doing community described by Mr. Boutwell in his third-term article in the last *North American Review*, and by the Stalwart orators and newspapers generally, but something entirely different. If any human rights whatever are endangered or trampled upon in the South he has failed to mention them, and, failing to mention them in a speech descriptive of the political condition of those States, neither he nor his supporters are at liberty now to tell the people, as they have lately been telling them, that his election is necessary to put down a new rebellion and restore order in the Southern States. As we shall, perhaps, have occasion to recur to this speech, we quote the essential part of it as furnished by the Associated Press:

"It has been my good fortune to have just passed through a little bit of every one of the Southern States lately in rebellion, and it is gratifying to me, and I know it will be to you, that in every one of them scenes, decorations, and speeches were much the same as we see and hear to-day. The stars and stripes were floating everywhere. A great portion of the speakers in every instance were men who in the conflict wore the grey; and the speeches which they made show their present devotion to the flag for which we fought, and which is all we asked of them—that they should respect and honor the flag and become good citizens, and hereafter, if it should be assailed by a foreign foe, that they should unite with us as one people. From the assurances they give I believe they are sincere, and I hope they expressed the sentiments of the great majority; for, united as one people, united as generous rivals in building up our several States for the whole Union, and in a feeling of loyalty for that flag, we are a great people, the greatest nation in the whole world."

Reverting to Mr. Boutwell's reasons why the public should cease

debating "an ancient tradition whose origin is uncertain and whose value is doubtful," in order to fix their attention exclusively on the wickedness of the White Leaguers, the Ku-klux, and the Regulators of Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina—these States being specially enumerated by him—we find the real question of the hour to be this: "*Shall this Government be destroyed or subverted permanently by the usurpations of the minority?*" (the italics are Mr. Boutwell's). Elsewhere he wishes to know whether we are to "yield a quiet submission to a Senate and House of Representatives whose majorities were secured by the grossest usurpations, made possible only by the perpetration of the bloodiest of crimes." According to this eminent authority there is nobody so well fitted as General Grant to throttle these bloody-minded villains; in fact, it is their domination, not merely in the South but at the national capital, which makes it expedient to override the ancient tradition against third terms in order to put the Strong Man in a position where he can deal them an annihilating blow. But when we turn to the Strong Man himself, who has been on a tour of inspection among these disloyal conspirators, he tells us virtually that it is all bosh—as we partly suspected it was when Mr. Boutwell printed it.

General Grant has thus, it seems to us, deprived his friends of the sole argument with which they have ventured to encounter the powerful and growing hostility to a third term, and, the weighty objections to himself predicated upon the scandals of his former Administration and his own moral obtuseness respecting them. This argument was none other than the alleged danger to the country from the rebel Brigadiers, the men "who in the recent conflict wore the grey," and who are expressly mentioned in the Cairo speech as showing their devotion to the old flag and believed to be sincere. Whether that argument would have availed to carry the party through another campaign with General Grant as the nominee is highly doubtful, but it has now ceased to be of any value. Blaine, Edmunds, Sherman, or anybody else may run on that platform, but not General Grant. He has made it difficult for anybody, but for himself impossible. No amount of explanation or afterthought can erase the plain meaning of the Cairo speech. A campaign against the Rebel Brigadiers cannot be made with a candidate who is "shaking hands across the bloody chasm." The national sense of humor would prevent it. On the same day that General Grant at Cairo was eulogizing the good behavior of the men who wore the grey, General Logan, at the other end of the State, at Central Hall, in the city of Chicago, was declaiming about the "great emergency" which would, in his estimation, excuse and justify a third term. If the two had spoken in each other's hearing there must have been great embarrassment or sudden coolness between them. But in such a disagreement General Grant is the superior authority. If he now becomes the nominee the issues of the campaign will be the Third Term *plus* Babcock, Shepherd, Belknap, Jayne and Sanborn, Leet and Stocking, and a long procession of half-forgotten worthies whose biographies are even now in print for the entertainment of the reading public. The Rebel Brigadiers have been eliminated from the fight, and the arguments of Mr. Boutwell and General Logan are of no more value to the Republican party (with the author of the Cairo speech for their candidate) than the cartridges burnt at Waterloo. If the state of things at the South is really what General Grant has described, there is no need of a military candidate, no need of a third-term candidate, no need of a Strong Man, and especially no need of a new régime of "mind-poisoning" at the White House.

The effect of the Cairo speech upon the South was probably more distinctly in the mind of the speaker than its effect upon the Republican party. Mr. Conkling has been quoted as saying that General Grant would carry several Southern States in the election; but whether these States were to be gained by an accession of Democratic votes, or by arousing such enthusiasm among the colored people that they would vanquish the White Leaguers and break up the "conspiracy" which Mr. Boutwell is at such pains to expose, has not been defined by anybody. By one or other of these



processes must the result be achieved, but not by both combined, since they are antagonistic to each other and cannot be brought into action without falling into deadly conflict. We have shown in previous articles what this conflict consists of; how it is an inevitable concomitant of the transition from slavery to freedom—from the rank barbarism of the ante-war period to a state of civilization, which must grow, as other civilizations have grown, by the spread of knowledge among the victims of slavery, and by the sense of responsibility and courage which knowledge alone can give. The want of knowledge, responsibility, and courage among the mass of voters in Mississippi cannot be made good by Mr. Boutwell's speeches in Massachusetts, nor can society be permanently turned bottom upward in order to keep ignorance and squalor in the halls of legislation and the seats of power. Hence any union between the Democrats and the colored men to secure electoral votes—which imply State and local control as well—for General Grant is out of the question. If enough Democrats are satisfied with him the party will furnish such votes to him, but they will never ask the partnership of their own field-hands in doing it. As regards the Southern whites themselves they will probably remember that General Grant went into the Presidency with the motto, "Let us have peace"; that he waged war against them by means both constitutional and unconstitutional during eight years; and that they never had any real peace till they got rid of him. Here is one fact for them to steady themselves by, in this day of strange paradoxes.

#### A NEW VIEW OF PARTY HARMONY.

A REFORM platform which was "unanimously adopted upon motion of the Hon. George S. Boutwell" could not be expected to be free from ambiguity. In fact the resolutions of the Massachusetts Republican Convention at Worcester last week, which ended with the recommendation of Mr. Edmunds for the Presidency, carefully avoided that plainness of speech which has characterized the manifestoes of the New York Independent Republicans, the National Republican League of Philadelphia, or the Massachusetts Young Republicans. Nevertheless, their meaning is unmistakable, and they shelve the "claims" of Grant and Blaine, if not of Sherman, as clearly as if both these candidates had been named. Moreover, they go a stride beyond the present emergency by laying down the salutary general principle that "the duty of all Republicans loyally to support the candidates of the party, and the duty of nominating conventions to present candidates who are acceptable to all Republicans, are reciprocal duties of equal force and obligation." In this clause, logically applied, lies the condemnation of the Machine and the justification of bolting.

When we stop to enquire what is meant by "acceptable to all Republicans," or by the corresponding phraseology, "no man should be nominated who cannot poll the *full* Republican vote" (N. Y. Independents), and "we protest against the nomination of any candidate who is certain to lose the support of *any important portion* of the party" (Mass. Young Republicans), we perceive that these expressions are not to be taken literally. If, for example, there is (which is not at all unlikely) a considerable body of Republicans, who, being Greenbackers, are inflexibly opposed to Secretary Sherman because he favored and carried out resumption, or another body who will not vote for him because he has been "unfriendly" to silver; or if an "important portion" of the party can never forgive General Grant's refusal to settle the Louisiana and South Carolina contentions before his successor had qualified, as he had abundant time and plenty of instigation to do; or if yet another constituency objects to Blaine that his mismanagement of the Machine in Maine allowed the Fusionists to carry the State by a fair majority, and again nearly to capture it by fraud—we do not understand that these are the Republicans who must be conciliated and their scruples respected at Chicago in the choice of a party leader for the next campaign. We apprehend, on the contrary, that the class designated in the resolution against which neither Mr. Banks nor Mr. Boutwell lifted up his voice, consists of those whose con-

sciences are commonly considered too nice for "practical politics," and who accompany their specification of objectionable candidates with charges of intrigue, corruption, or dishonor—in short, the sensitive and moral portion of the Republican party.

But if concession ought to be made to this despised group of reformers and scratchers by party managers like Messrs. Cameron and Conkling, and if they are to be allowed to dictate at least who shall *not* be nominated by the National Convention, what, we should like to know, becomes of the doctrine of party harmony so industriously preached last fall in this State in particular? What will Mr. Beecher say to the pretension, gravely announced in a platform "in good and regular standing," that the party should be held together not by subserviency to the tricksters who control the organization, but by deference to those who in decency stand aloof from it—that harmony should be attained by consulting not the "fixers" but the "fixed"? Mr. Beecher, it will be remembered, held in his Brooklyn speech that it was pure conceit to attempt to overrule those who had taken the pains to have things their own way; that loyalty to the party nominations was the proper acknowledgment of superior industry on the part of the workers; and that the superior virtue assumed by the reformers was only a cover for indolence, preoccupation, and prejudice. Now come the Massachusetts Republicans and declare that loyalty is a reciprocal sentiment, due to fit nominations and no other, due in the measure that nominations are fit, not due at all if these are unfit, and the rest of the chapter. Candidates must be acceptable to all Republicans, not as the unanimous choice of the party bosses, but as in themselves deserving of general confidence and approval and as "having the requisite qualifications for the high office of President"—"whose nomination will be most expedient because most worthy and least objectionable." In other words, the dextrous manipulation of State conventions, the pledging of delegations, the forcing of the unit rule, and even a packed majority at Chicago, furnish no presumption except of skilful organization, and confer no prerogative by which the humblest conscience need be overawed. Minority against minority—the Machine against the bolters and scratchers—the party scales should incline, say the Massachusetts Republicans, not to organization but to character; and harmony is to be sought not by coercing the disaffected, but by elevating the standards of public and party morality in accordance with their aspirations.

We do not say, we can hardly hope, that the majority who drew these resolutions and elected delegates in sympathy with them will to a man follow the higher impulse, and refuse to sanction at the polls what they deprecated in convention. None the less is it to be said of them to their credit that they have taken a position from which it results that reform within the party is a higher and holier object than mechanical discipline under self-appointed bosses; that the party conscience is not in the keeping of these bosses; that it is not shameful to have been outmanœuvred by them; and that it is lawful, as a good partisan, to resist them at the polls after having been defeated in all other encounters with them. In short, in dealing with such adversaries the reformer may choose his time, his place, and his weapons.

Another healthy symptom is the coincidence between the seventh Massachusetts resolution and the third paragraph of the Philadelphia programme. We desire, says the former, a candidate who will "have the confidence and approval of all who have hitherto acted with the Republican party, who will invite the support of other patriotic citizens desiring good government more than party success," etc.; we seek, says the latter, to secure the nomination of a statesman "who will secure the support not only of zealous Republicans, but also of thoughtful and independent voters." Here again is an idea essentially opposed to machine politics. All the efforts expended upon caucuses, primaries, and conventions have but one end in view—to keep the voter in his party allegiance, to constrain him to walk in the narrow path marked out for him. The attempt to *persuade* him or anybody else has been entirely abandoned. To set forth the unselfish aims of the party and the merits of its candidates and policy as reasons *why*

those not openly allied with it should join it, is unheard of in boss-ridden States. Instead of debate for the purpose of convincing opponents; we are treated to systematic, wholesale abuse of them as dangerous and incorrigible. The organization which we are told is indispensable to party life and achievement thus dries up the springs of earnestness and zeal of propagandism, and, by suppressing discussion, obscures the grounds of party division without encouraging the growth of patriotism. Voters long accustomed to passive obedience on the score of harmony, regard as a sort of devilish temptation the nomination by the opposite party of a public man of unblemished character. Thousands of good citizens, for example, stand ready to cross themselves if Mr. Bayard is made the Democratic standard-bearer, and to find additional evidence of the total depravity of his party in the cunning which fixed their choice upon him. On the other hand Mr. Edmunds would perhaps not consider his chances at Chicago greatly increased by considerations of "availability" based on the respect which his character commands outside of the Republican ranks. It is, therefore, chiefly as a foreshadowing of better things that we welcome the Massachusetts adhesion to the doctrine that a harmonious Republican may not only take account of his convictions in deciding whether to support the party nominee, but may honestly be influenced by the high character of the rival candidate; since, if the force of character should ever be allowed to obliterate party lines, it is a poor rule that will not work both ways.

#### THE NEW PARLIAMENT AND THE COMING MINISTRY.

LONDON, Saturday, April 3, 1880.

MR. GLADSTONE has his revenge. He has dispersed the Conservative majority, and pulled down Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry. The former has already disappeared, and no gains which can possibly be made by the Government during the next week will restore it. The English county elections will indeed diminish the majority which now stands on the Liberal side, but it will again receive additions from the Scotch and Irish elections. A very experienced party-manager, whose estimates of the Liberal gains during the past week have erred on the minimizing side, puts the Liberal majority, when the House of Commons shall be completely constituted, at thirty, not including the Irish Obstructionists, but including certain Irish members who are Liberals first and by inclination, and who are Home-Rulers in the second place and by necessity. Other and more sanguine calculators give the Liberals a majority even larger than that just stated, independent of any section of the Home-Rule vote; and the unexpected and growing successes of the past few days warrant at least hopefulness in this matter. Though the Conservatives will retain their majority in the counties, it will in all probability be a much diminished majority, and will not in any way counterbalance their accumulated losses in the boroughs. The Scotch Conservatives will be swept out of the few seats they occupied during the past Parliament; and in Ireland already a Roman Catholic Liberal who is not a Home-Ruler, Mr. Charles Russell, one of the most eminent practitioners at the English bar, has defeated a noisy Home-Ruler at Dundalk. The O'Connor Don, who has severed himself from the Home-Rule party, seems likely to hold his own against Mr. Parnell's interference in Roscommon. The decision of the country is, however, given in the voting for the English boroughs and cities. They are the fluctuating element in English public opinion, and according to their vote the majority in the House of Commons and the Government is Liberal or Conservative. The counties have up to this time been stolidly Conservative. Scotland has been resolutely, and the majority of the Irish constituencies have been impulsively, Liberal. These are the permanent elements in the political problem. The English boroughs embody those fluctuations of opinion according to which majorities and ministries rise and fall. The English boroughs have given their verdict in response to Mr. Gladstone's appeal and in decided rejection of Lord Beaconsfield's.

Mr. Gladstone is justified in the course which he has pursued during the past few years. His incessant activity and loquacity have been viewed with contempt and dislike by some fastidious critics, and with serious misgivings by many who were well enough inclined to him, respecting him, as Ben Jonson loved Shakspeare, on this side of idolatry. He has fallen into occasional errors of taste and temper. He has set aside the traditions of English politics. The spectacle of a statesman of the first

rank who had lately held the highest office under the Crown, and of a scholar who had almost advertised his retirement to the quietude of learned leisure and of spiritual contemplation, rushing from platform to platform and pouring forth torrents of theologico-political eloquence, shocked the English sense of decorum. Particular things said and done by Mr. Gladstone were amazingly and almost unpardonably indiscreet. But when the labors of four years are looked back upon, when the energies which were expended under social contumely and popular odium are taken into account, when the fixed purpose and the overflowing resources of knowledge and speech placed at its disposal are remembered, and, above all, when the victory which has crowned these efforts is taken into account, the past few years of Mr. Gladstone's life may be counted as among the most memorable in his own career and as the most extraordinary in political history. He has brought England once more to his side. No doubt the natural awakening of the public mind and conscience, or, if a more neutral phrase be preferred, the inevitable reaction of opinion, has helped him. The confidence placed in the tact and moderation of Lord Granville and in the straightforward common sense of Lord Hartington has not been without its effect. But Mr. Gladstone's force of character and energy of propagandism have been the main instruments in the work now practically accomplished. A strictly solitary agency never effected anything. But, with only such limitation as is implied in the conditions of human affairs, Mr. Gladstone is entitled to say with Coriolanus, "Alone I did it." He is once more the foremost statesman in England, the man of light and leading, and the part which he will play in the near future is anxiously waited for.

Already discussion is beginning as to the leadership of the Liberal party. People are asking who is to be Prime Minister in the inevitable Liberal Administration which will be formed within a few days after the meeting of Parliament, if Lord Beaconsfield waits for a vote of censure, or a few weeks before it if he anticipates the action of the House of Commons by resignation before it comes together, as he did in 1868, and as Mr. Gladstone did in 1874. Probably both he and Lord Salisbury will desire to vindicate the policy they have pursued and which the nation has condemned. But the vote of censure will be proposed in the Commons, where the Government is weak in debating power. It will not be challenged in the Lords, where the ministers most directly responsible for it, and most capable of defending it, sit. But whether the ministers resign in April or May, their resignation is certain, and the question is, "Whom will the Queen send for?" It is thought, and with much probability, that Lord Granville will be the man. But this theory is not so mechanically certain as in some quarters it is assumed to be. It seems to be believed that the Queen is constitutionally bound to ask the advice of the retiring Minister as to the choice of his successor, and that the retiring Minister is bound to name the leader of the Opposition, for whom the Queen, under penalty of violating that very fluctuating and indefensible thing, the spirit of the constitution, is under the obligation to send. If this were so, there would be no need of asking or taking advice. The Queen knows as well as Lord Beaconsfield who is the leader of the Opposition. But the selection of a statesman to whom the task of forming a government is entrusted is one of the few acts which the Crown is at liberty to do without ministerial advice, and in which ministerial advice would be an impertinence. Sir Robert Peel explained this when, in 1846, he corrected the statement that on his retirement he had advised Her Majesty to have recourse to Lord John Russell. Having lost the confidence of the House of Commons, he was no longer the responsible adviser of the Crown, and simply held office for the transaction of routine business and until his successor should be appointed. In ordinary cases there can be no difficulty. The Ministry must be formed out of the Opposition, and the leader of the Opposition is the only person under whom its principal members would consent to serve. But this is not quite the position of affairs just now. The feeling which Mr. Gladstone has inspired at court makes it unlikely that the Queen should send for him. His own repeated and lately renewed assertions that he claims no other position than that of a faithful follower and supporter of Lord Granville and Lord Hartington may be considered as a refusal in advance to take the office of Prime Minister. But if the Queen should recognize in him the leader whom the country has followed, the statesman for whose policy it has declared, and especially the political rival who has overthrown Lord Beaconsfield, and who is bound to accept responsibility for his own acts, it is quite within her competence to send for him, and it would be free to Mr. Gladstone in these circumstances to reconsider his position and to undertake the task offered to him. This is not likely to happen, but it is not impossible, nor would this course involve any constitutional impropriety. If, again, it



should appear to the Queen desirable that the Premiership should be held by a statesman in the full vigor of life, and possessing a seat in the House of Commons, rather than by an elderly peer, there is no reason why she should not send for Lord Hartington rather than Lord Granville. Of course, as sovereigns and prime ministers are human beings and not puppets, she may consult Lord Beaconsfield on the matter, and may be guided by his opinion; but there is no constitutional obligation to ask and take his advice.

The probability is that the ordinary course will be followed, and that Lord Granville, as the senior of the two Parliamentary leaders, will be sent for. Mr. Gladstone will, of course, be at once communicated with; but it is not likely that he would be offered, and it is all but certain that he would not take, office under any other statesman. It does not absolutely follow that he would decline to enter the Cabinet. Lord Granville might appropriately make to him the proposal which Mr. Gladstone made to Lord Russell in 1868 to join his Cabinet without holding any office, a position which does not imply subordination, and which, as in the case of the Duke of Wellington and others, has been held by statesmen who are disinclined for administrative labors, but whose advice in council is deemed necessary. A Liberal Cabinet to whose decisions Mr. Gladstone was not a party, and by which he was not bound, would probably have a short and troubled existence. A member, even though unofficially, of any administration, he would almost certainly before very long become its chief. But the beginning will probably be a Ministry with Lord Granville as Premier and Lord Hartington as leader in the House of Commons, with Mr. Gladstone for the time being advising it from within or protecting it from without. If he remains in the House of Commons and in political life, and the Liberal party remains in power, this position can only be temporary; but it will ease his transition to the Premiership.

#### THE ANTI-CLERICAL CRUSADE IN FRANCE.

PARIS, April 2, 1880.

I HAD not followed any debate of the Chambers since they left Versailles, but I could not resist the temptation to hear the discussion on the now famous Article 7. The hall where the Senators meet in the Luxembourg is the same they used to meet in under the Empire, but the sittings are open to the public, while they were not under Napoleon III. It was with some difficulty that the architect contrived to make room in the galleries, which have been opened on the sides of the great hemicycle. I know from personal experience how uncomfortable these dark and narrow galleries are, and even while I listened to such men as Dufaure I often regretted the spacious galleries of the magnificent theatre at Versailles.

I will not describe here the various incidents of a long discussion; the speech of M. Dufaure was the last act of the long battle. The vote was taken as soon as the "old man eloquent" left the tribune. Article 7 was condemned by the Senate. This article refused the right of opening schools and of teaching to all persons who formed part of a non-authorized congregation. Since this famous discussion the Chamber of Deputies has signified to the Cabinet that it must simply execute the *existing laws* with regard to all congregations. The Cabinet took some time to examine these laws, and two days ago the official paper inserted, after a "longa et verbosa epistola" of the Home Minister, two decrees, one concerning the Jesuits, the other concerning the other non-authorized congregations. An exceptional rigor is shown toward the Jesuits: "A delay of three months is given to the non-authorized association, called of Jesus, to dissolve in execution of the above laws, and to vacate the establishments which it occupies throughout the territory of the Republic. This delay will be prolonged till the 31st of August, 1880, for establishments in which, under the care of this association, literary or scientific education is given to youth." I beg you to observe that the word *association* is used in this decree, not the word *congregation*. The Jesuits are not treated as a non-authorized congregation, they are treated as a non-recognized association. For this there are technical reasons which I will explain presently.

This first decree is directed against 1,480 Jesuits who live in fifty-six establishments in France. By the second decree "every non-authorized congregation or community is bound within three months to take the following steps to obtain the verification and approbation of its statutes (by-laws) and regulations, and the legal recognition of each of its establishments now existing *de facto*." The request for authorization must be left with the prefect of the department in which the establish-

ment exists, and sent to the Home Minister. "With regard to the congregation of men, provision will be made by statute; with regard to the congregation of women, either by statute or by decree rendered in the Council of State." Each request for authorization must contain the designation of the superior or superiors, the indication of their place of residence, and the proof that this residence is and will remain fixed in France. It must indicate whether the association extends to foreign parts or is exclusively on the territory of the Republic. To each request must also be annexed, 1st, a list of the names of all the members of the association, specifying the birth-place of each, whether native or foreigner; 2d, a financial statement of assets and debts, with a list of the revenues and charges of the association and of all its establishments; 3d, a copy of the statutes and regulations, approved by the bishop of the diocese, and containing a clause binding the congregation or community to submit in spiritual matters to the jurisdiction of the ordinary. All congregations which neglect to ask, in the given term, for the aforesaid authorization, with all the proofs therein prescribed, "will incur the application of the laws now in force"; that is to say, they will all be treated with the rigor now exceptionally visited on the Jesuits.

Practically it seems difficult now for the Government to stop in the career upon which it has entered. Even if the congregations should be willing to go through all the forms which I have explained, there are many points in which they cannot satisfy the Government. 1st. Most of the great congregations have their superiors out of France, in Rome or elsewhere. 2d. The great congregations have never accepted the spiritual jurisdiction of the ordinary. The conditions which are now imposed on them are such that it is doubtful whether they will send a copy of their statutes to the Government, and ask for an authorization which can only be given to the most important of them by a law discussed in both Houses. The temper of the Chamber of Deputies is such that the necessary legislation will not be voted by it, and the Catholic Right itself will hesitate before it *recognizes* any congregation, because such a recognition or authorization would give the corporations rights which they do not possess now, such as that of acquiring property, accepting legacies, etc., as a corporation. The Catholics are anxious to keep the corporations religious and teaching bodies; few of them would like to see them become great landlords. The Government offers the existing congregations too much in order to deprive them of the little they have; it offers it on what are known to be impossible conditions.

The legal aspect of the question is, however, such as to give us the certainty of a long and painful period of agitation in the country. If the clerical question was invented in order to give satisfaction to the restless spirits of the nation, it was well invented. We are plunging into a sea of legal difficulties, and, as they are mixed up with religious interests and passions, we can fairly prophesy a long era of confusion, strife, and warfare. With the 1,480 Jesuits now in France and the 5,917 members of the other congregations which are summoned to ask for their recognition, our political leaders will keep thirty-six millions of men and women in what they consider a wholesome state of fermentation for a year or two. The struggle will go on till the next general elections, and the electoral battle will be fought on the platform of "clericalism" and "anti-clericalism." This is said to be Gambetta's plan; he declared at Romans: "Le cléricalisme, c'est l'ennemi." He has carried all his followers with him in this campaign, and he has only been abandoned by men like Jules Simon, Dufaure, by those who may be called the Liberal Republicans. A new alliance is now forming between the Conservatives and these Moderate Republicans; as for the people, it is difficult to know what they feel on these subjects. The clerical question has not arisen from the conscience of the nation; it is an artificial flower born on the bed of what is called now "opportunism." I doubt if it strikes any root in the great masses of the country. It is a German importation, a copy of the *Kulturkampf* invented by professors and lawyers; it has not the character of a national movement. It remains to be seen how it will succeed in France.

The difficulties arising from the new decrees are obvious. A non-authorized congregation is now illegal. The Marists, the Jesuits, the Dominicans are all electors, they have all the rights of citizens, but they have no corporate rights. I cannot sell a house to the Society of Marists, as they are not an authorized congregation. I can sell a house to an individual Marist. The Brothers of the Christian Doctrine (who are teachers in many primary schools) form an authorized congregation. I could sell a house before a notary, not only to the superior or to a brother of this institute, but to the institute itself. Article 291 of the Penal Code, which is one of the favorite articles of our anti-Liberal Republicans, says:

"No association of more than twenty persons, wishing to meet every day or on certain fixed days for religious, literary, political, or other objects, can be formed without the consent of the Government." But the rest of the article is never cited: "Among the persons indicated in the present article are *not* comprised those who are domiciled in the house where the association meets." Are the Jesuits, the Dominicans, etc., domiciled in the houses of their institute? They are; and this domicile is a portion of their rules. The Jesuits, Dominicans, etc., have the right to live together in their houses; they have the right to teach in their houses, since the Senate rejected Article 7 and thus recognized formally this right. The Jesuits (I choose them on purpose) have, therefore, according to the "existing laws," the right to live together in certain houses, they have a right to teach in those houses, and yet the decree denies them the right to exist at all. If the Jesuits claimed any corporate right the Government would have the right to examine their statutes, to give or refuse these corporate rights. But they do not: they simply claim their rights of citizenship.

The other congregations are apparently treated with less severity than the Jesuits: in fact, however, their fate will be the same. The cause of the Dominicans, the Marists, the Trappists is closely bound up with that of the Jesuits. It is not enough to say that at various times the Jesuits have had the honor of special persecution—that the old *parlements* and kings of France treated them with especial rigor. It is a principle admitted by all criminalists that all articles of the Penal Code which have fallen into disuse are not to be revived without the strongest of motives. When the Jesuits were the confessors of kings, when they controlled the policy of Europe, they had in their hands the fate of all the politicians; they fell and rose, and fell again. Times are changed: a free press, parliamentary government, the progress of science have created an atmosphere in Europe in which religious persecution cannot live long. When people are left free to rehabilitate Marat, Robespierre, the Terrorists, or the Communists, the disciples of Saint Bruno, Saint Francis, Saint Bernard, the disciples of Loyola, might be left free to pray and to teach.

#### THE SAN DONATO MUSEUM.

FLORENCE, March 30.

THE sale of the collection of pictures, bric-à-brac, furniture, and tapestry belonging to Prince Demidoff is one of those exceptional clearings-out which demand passing notice even across the Atlantic. The probability is that no such sale will ever take place again, for this collection, formed by the most lavish expenditure, if not always by the most correct taste, and the work of two generations (three, if we consider that the nucleus of it, the Napoleon collection, was formed by Jerome Bonaparte, father of Princess Mathilde, as part of whose dowry it passed to Prince Anatole Demidoff, uncle of the present Prince), has been or is to be, completely and to the last trifle, sold at auction without reserve of price. It was a complete museum, containing examples of every application of art (including the antique) which artistic taste can need for its education, if not always the best examples of it. Something there was of every school of art from the Revival in Italy down, though the sale of the French and other pictures some years since had deprived it of the best work of the schools of the day. Florentine Renaissance bronzes and wood-carving from the thirteenth century down; tapestries and embroideries of all modern and mediæval schools; a few old Italian pictures; early French, many, and some remarkable, Dutch: with porcelain, terra-cotta, furniture, German, Dutch, Spanish, French, and Italian. It was, in fact, such a collection as our Metropolitan Museum should have been modelled after, a miniature combination of South Kensington and the National Gallery of London. There were half a dozen Dutch pictures worth the whole collection in the Metropolitan Museum: one of the finest Rembrandt portraits in existence, another by Rubens, the best Adrian Van der Velde I have ever seen, and unsurpassable examples of Teniers, Ostade and Ruysdael, and a remarkable portrait by Terburg, the master of miniature portraiture of his school, if not of all schools. There are tapestries from the twelfth century down, embroideries of all times and nations from the twelfth century, and household furniture, comprising the best applications of art to household uses of the last six hundred years—work of Florence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; French of the times of Louis XIV. and XVI., that reconciled one entirely to the taste of those times, which is more than their pictures could do; and even Empire furniture, which, by the refinement of its forms, conquered the antipathy its artificiality and coldness provoked. As a whole, the collection merited the attention it is receiving from amateurs and collectors from all Europe and America; and though it might, doubtless, be

still further diminished in numbers without losing value as a museum, probably no collection equal to it in average merit exists. It should, it seems to me, be the type of our American museums, where applied art is, and will long be, the principal desideratum of our æsthetic life.

The pictures of the Demidoff collection, with few exceptions, brought prices much below those which the Prince paid, and, though he in many cases paid too much by far, there remains a large margin of profit to the buyers. The Terburg, for which Demidoff paid 45,000 francs, sold for 13,500 lire, or 12,100 francs *circa*. His price was absurd, but the buyer now holds it at £1,000 sterling, or more than double what he paid. For the portrait of a young woman by Rembrandt the Prince paid £6,000; it sold for 137,500 lire, or less than £5,000. The bidding was curiously unappreciative at times: a Solomon Ruysdael, "Banks of the Meuse," sold for 25,100 lire, and two far more important pictures of Jacob Ruysdael sold for 7,800 and 18,100, the latter one of the finest pictures the painter has left. The full-length of Anne Cavendish, by Van Dyck, sold for 150,000 lire; and his half-length of the Earl of Strafford, a fine and important portrait, for 3,600. The portrait of Spinola by Rubens, certainly one of his finest heads, sold for 81,000 lire, while the admirable and important study for the *plafond* at Whitehall sold for 11,200, or about \$2,000. A few of the fine pictures were secured for America, but none of them were first-rate samples of their respective painters' work with the exception of the little portrait of a peasant boy by Greuze. This is as fine as a Greuze can be, whatever that limit may be.

On the whole the Prince was largely a loser by his pictures, but in the furniture, etc., he seems likely to recover himself, as most of the really fine articles, especially those of early Florentine work, have gone for prices higher than they could be bought for in the shops here. Some of the Sèvres porcelain went for high prices, a set of three jardinières bringing 94,500 lire, and being resold for 20,000 advance already, while a piece of old Vienna, for which the Prince paid 18,000 lire, was struck off to Mr. Jarves, for New York, for about 4,000.

The fact is that the Prince has had most extraordinary facilities for buying and collecting, but a very poor judgment; and while he has made many very advantageous purchases he has at other times bought fantastically, so that his prices afford no indication of the comparative value. Some late and not very remarkable faience, which in the market would command about 40 lire the pair of vases, sold at the auction for from 150 to 250 lire the pair; and some carved furniture, which was made in Florence by living men, sold for three or four times the price it can be reproduced for. A very fine example of Florentine cabinet, which at the utmost would have been priced by a dealer at 1,000 lire, sold for 1,750, etc., etc., while some of the Louis XVI. cabinets and other furniture went far below their market value. Nothing could be more uncertain than the relation between the actual market value and the price realized.

But to the American public, away from the *actualités* of the sale, the most important fact will be that many things from it are to be sent to America. The best snuff-box in a most curious and complete collection; a rare and very interesting suite of furniture, comprising a sofa, two arm-chairs, and six chairs of the time of Louis XIII., covered with a curious Flemish tapestry, perhaps the most interesting lot of the kind in the palace; the finest of the Della Robbias, a madonna and child; some interesting souvenirs of royalty in its prosperous days, and some valuable bric-à-brac, will follow the pictures I have mentioned across the Atlantic; and it is understood that some of the most valuable are destined for the Boston Museum. The policy thus initiated, and which the San Donato collection itself suggests and recommends, will, if followed out, give Boston a museum of the highest practical utility at an expense far less than that already incurred by the management of the New York institution, which has buried in useless duplicates of articles in great part without any artistic value commensurate with their cost a capital large enough to have given an epitome of the art of all ages and countries.

It is, in fact, difficult for one who has made art collections a study to comprehend the policy which directs the operations of the Metropolitan Museum. If there were the hope of rivalling the British Museum, South Kensington, and the National Gallery in one institution, the purchase at what after all were extravagant prices of a large collection of Dutch pictures to the exclusion of the better schools, of the Cesnola collection of Cypriote art at a cost which would have made a sample collection of artwork of all the centuries from the building of the pyramids to the present day, etc., etc., there would still be a doubt if the directors of the Museum were guided by sound policy; but when we know that instead of the resources of the whole British Empire we have only those of the city of New York, the laying of the foundations of a civic museum with such



disproportionate acquisitions reminds one of a temple which is all portico. An hundred years would not make the Museum a fair representation of art-work at this rate. This is not judicious collection, but ignorant acquisition, and so far from exciting the admiration of the Old World, as some New-Yorkers may imagine, it reminds the true collectors and students of collections of the frog who burst rather than of the bull whom he emulated. The subject suggests a great many bitter comments which good-nature suppresses, and one need only say that, in what pertains to the soundest art-culture, the policy which it is understood Boston is entering on will place her in an incontestable superiority to the metropolis before ten years have passed. The formation of art collections is a thing which demands an amount of art-culture in the collectors which the New York direction do not seem to think it worth while to employ; and we may easily learn that the vanity of art patronage is no match for the study and love of art, and that all the capital of New York thrown out in the reckless and unintelligent manner in which it has been thus far employed will not compete with the modest resources of the capital of New England under the direction of men who have made art their life-long study. We New-Yorkers are as proud of the Cesnola collection as if we had bought a white elephant, and with equal reason. Boston, at a tithe of the cost, will cover the art of five thousand years. It is not the way to work, and it is unworthy our American shrewdness to work in it. One-twentieth of the Cesnola collection and one-tenth of our Dutch Gallery were worth to the metropolis as much as the whole. What is needed is intelligent selection and arrangement, not indiscriminate accumulation.

In the midst of so much official unintelligence it will be a satisfaction to know that so many of the best things of the Demidoff sale are going to New York to private hands, and that the interesting collection of drawings by the old masters, purchased by Mr. Jarves, and to which I have before alluded,\* also goes there, and that they will be probably seen at the Museum for a time. They have been purchased by a wealthy New-Yorker, and it is to be hoped that some interesting fragments of early frescoes and carved work in Jarves's possession may have gone with them. He has a head by Correggio, a fragment of a large picture, which as an example of largeness of style in painting is a priceless lesson to our young painters.

The San Donato sale has been a unique opportunity, but in the decay and revolution of the old social order in Italy there will probably present themselves continually objects of the greatest interest to art-collectors, and the troublous times which seem to be brewing may throw in the market, even more than is the case now, an art accumulation which our prosperity and capital may profit by as Western Europe did by the dispersal of the Greeks at the fall of Constantinople. Those are the times in which museums become possible, and in which with patience and judgment America may make hers.

W. J. S.

## Correspondence.

### OPPERT'S COREAN OUTRAGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The notice of Oppert's book on Corea, in your issue of the 7th instant, recalls some curious incidents to my mind. The raid on the king's tomb was one of the most extraordinary affairs ever known. Its inception and failure might have been concealed but for the Coreans, when they attacked the ghouls, killing an unfortunate Manilaman. Hearing of this, the Spanish consul applied to Mr. Seward (U. S. Consul-General at Shanghai), who at once arrested Jenkins. I was one of the four "associates" summoned to sit with the consul-general in the trial, and well remember what a perfect burlesque it was. The Chinese, who had told a plain and coherent story on preliminary examination, were as dumb as oysters on the stand. When all had been called, the defendant's counsel said that he would rest his case on their testimony. Conviction was impossible, but in the minds of those informed on the subject the wickedness of this buccaneering expedition was remembered as surpassing even the absurdity of an attempt to destroy a granite mausoleum with coal-shovels. There is monstrous impertinence in Oppert's publishing an account of a piratical fiasco which is reported to have cost him a term of imprisonment at home.

A. A. HAYES, JR.

NEW YORK, April 15, 1880.

### GENERAL HARRISON'S ONE-TERM DOCTRINE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The following declaration of President Harrison on the eve of his election has not to my knowledge been noticed in the third-term literature of the day. It shows how even second-term aspirations on the part of a Democrat were regarded by the Opposition in 1840:

"In the Constitution, that glorious charter of our liberties, there is a defect, and that defect is, the term of service of the President is not limited. *This omission is the source of all the evils under which the country is laboring.* If the privilege of being President of the United States had been limited to one term, the incumbent would devote all his time to the public interest and there would be no cause to misrule the country. I pledge myself before heaven and earth if elected President of these United States to lay down at the end of the term, faithfully, that high trust at the feet of the people."—*Speech at Dayton, Sept. 10, 1840.* Niles, lix, p. 70; cited in Von Holst's 'Constitutional History of the United States,' vol. ii. pp. 377, 378.

GEO. N. ORCUTT.

HORNELLVILLE, N. Y., April 12, 1880.

### SOUTHERN RECEPTION OF NORTHERN SETTLERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A correspondent of the *Nation*, writing from Springfield, Mass., March 23, 1880, says: "The cold and hostile reception of Northern immigrants and the overbearing spirit of the master class toward their former slaves have kept up an irritation" between the North and South. While the spirit of the communication is somewhat clement toward us down in this latitude, and evinces a sentiment of fairness, yet in the foregoing extract the author labors under a grave mistake. Speaking especially for this State, it is a fact that cannot be denied that Northern citizens seeking a home among us have met with a cordial reception. I dare say not a single instance can be established to the contrary. Indeed, our people have all along shown a nervous anxiety to get Northern immigrants to locate and live with us. Whenever a Northern person comes in our midst, with a view to buying property and settling here, he is not only treated with uniform kindness, but coaxed and persuaded to remain. Whenever one makes investments here and becomes a citizen he is treated with marked civility, without reference to his political antecedents while a resident of the North. I could refer to instances in point where such new-comers were recipients of attentions but little short of an ovation. As to a man's politics, we have no fear in this country, if he is honest and intelligent, or more especially if he has property at stake. The universal law of moral gravitation—self-preservation—unites those classes in this portion of the Union.

In only one aspect is a Northern man shunned and hated down here, and that is when he comes in quest of political pottage and aligns the black population against the white. If possible, the native white man who plies this vile vocation is hated more heartily than the bird of passage known as a carpet-bagger.

We are not understood North. We have endured more than many of your most intelligent people can believe, and with a fortitude and forbearance that will one day be universally admitted. Had your Springfield correspondent seen what we have seen and felt what we have felt, he would have marvelled at our submission, he would have said that we were "pigeon-livered, and lacked gail to make oppression bitter." Those days are now happily past. It is to be hoped they never will recur. Northern men are warmly invited to come and cast their lots with ours. We want their capital and enterprise.

Your correspondent is also in error when he speaks of the overbearing spirit of the master class to the negro. While, in some instances, this is true, it is by no means the rule; indeed, it is seldom so. A large portion of the lands is leased by negroes. They are tenants, and cultivate them to suit themselves—with perfect freedom. The law gives a prior lien for rent. These tenants buy supplies from the merchant, who has a lien by law. Thoughtless, liberal, improvident, the negro always spends the value of his crop before he gathers it. The same may be said of the laborer whom the planter employs for money wages or a portion of the crop. In many instances the planter will not indulge him, in order that he may have something at the end of the year. Then every farthing of it goes during Christmas. His poverty is often construed by Northern men as the result of oppression. Many of our most intelligent and impartial people recognize the fact that the negro can never be a factor in the progress, prosperity, and success of the South; therefore they are perfectly willing for him to depart and try his fortunes elsewhere, and for a spirited, industrious, and thrifty white population to take his place. One thing the negro himself will find to be true, that go where he will

\* See the *Nation*, No. 752.

he will never find in this wide world a white face so indulgent to his faults and foibles, who will so kindly overlook and pardon his many immoralities and petty vices, as the "master class" "away down South in Dixie."

F. G. B.

West Point, Miss., April 9, 1880.

## Notes.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS announce for immediate publication 'Uncle Jack's Executors,' in their series of Knickerbocker novels; 'The Metric System of Weights and Measures,' by D. Beach, jr.; and 'a monograph by a well-known Republican, entitled, 'The Independent Movement in New York, as an element in the next election and a problem in party government.'—Mr. Horace White's Steinway Hall address on "Third-Term Politics" has been printed in pamphlet form by the New York Independent Republican Association, No. 8 Union Square.—'A History of England in Rhyme,' for children, by Capt. Robert Adams, is the novel announcement of D. Lothrop & Co., Boston.—We learn that Mr. G. D. Scull, of Philadelphia, whose 'Memoir of Captain Glenville Evelyn' we noticed a fortnight ago, purposes a new edition of the work, for which he has some eighteen additional letters of much interest to Philadelphians. In these Col. Harcourt describes the battle of Germantown and the operations at Red Bank and Mud Island.—Mr. Ad. F. Bandelier's exhaustive monograph 'On the Social Organization and Mode of Government of the Ancient Mexicans' has been reprinted from the twelfth annual report of the Peabody Museum at Cambridge. It is one of the most learned and important contributions yet made to the history of primitive institutions.—Vol. viii. of the Collections of the Wisconsin State Historical Society contains the usual entertaining miscellany. Noticeable are the crushing exposures of Eleazar Williams's imposture. In January of last year the library numbered more than 39,000 volumes, and embraced 3,012 bound files of newspapers.—We have also before us the annual report of the Wisconsin Natural History Society of Milwaukee, of which the most significant contents are its articles of incorporation. For twenty-two years it was the *Naturhistorischer Verein*; now it takes on an English title, and as some of the papers of the past year were read in English, we infer that its membership is broadening.—The *Popular Science Monthly* has virtually reduced its price to \$3 since April 1. For the usual subscription price of \$5 the subscriber will be entitled to two dollars' worth of scientific books from a list of 110 volumes published by the Messrs. Appleton—a small library, of which the total value is \$209.—The most important contribution to the *Harvard Register* for April is a brief paper by Professor Benj. Peirce on "The Intellectual Organization of Harvard University." The theme would well bear enlargement. Mr. Arthur Gilman announces that the women students of the "Annex" will be admitted to the privilege of instruction in Chinese, for which the professor has, we believe, ample leisure.—With its January issue the *Mathematical Visitor* reaches its fourth number (Artemas Martin, editor and publisher, Erie, Pa.) It is a well-printed and well-conducted journal, consisting of problems and solutions in a junior and senior department, and of terse book-notices.—The marine zoological laboratory of the Johns Hopkins University will be opened for its third session at Beaufort, N. C., from the present date to September 1, 1880. A house has been rented near the water for laboratory accommodations. Applications for admission may be sent to Director W. K. Brooks at Beaufort.—*Landsberg's Illustriertes Wochen-Blatt*, published at 5 Beekman Street, New York, is an attempt to supply a want not met, we believe, by any German publication in this country. It eschews news and politics, and devotes itself to science and art and belles-lettres. The first two numbers have appeared.—A movement has been set on foot in London to utilize the collections of the British Museum for the benefit of the principal colleges and schools in and near the British metropolis. It is stated in the *Athenæum* that "Mr. C. T. Newton, C.B., has undertaken to deliver the first course, consisting of eight lectures on Greek sculpture and painting, at the Botanical Theatre, University College, during the months of May and June next, commencing May 5. The lectures will be accompanied by visits to the British Museum, and will have special reference to the works of art which can be studied there." In good time our Metropolitan Museum may serve a similar function.—F. W. Christern will receive subscriptions to A. Quantin's *édition de luxe* of La Fontaine's 'Fables,' with full-page etchings by A. Delierre.—Copies of the etching after Fortuny's "Choix du modèle," the latest premium offered by *L'Art* to its subscribers, can be had through the Ameri-

can agent, Mr. J. W. Bouton. Of the *Etcheur* for March (Bouton) the three plates are "Tintagel," by R. S. Chattock; "The Tiger," by C. O. Murray; and "The Skaters," by Baron von Gleichen-Russwurm. Mr. Chattock's etching, without being particularly noteworthy, is quite as good as the verses with which he accompanies it, and which are perhaps necessary to explain that his singular clouds are meant to represent "multitudinous rose-flush'd cirri"; there is enough good work in the foreground to excite regret that he should have attempted this. William Blake's admirable poem on "The Tiger" altogether overweights Mr. Murray's depiction, which has nothing terrifying about it and might easily have been made by him "who made the lamb." "The Skaters" is a Dutch winter scene, vacant and somewhat feeble, but wholly unpretentious.—M. Hetzel, the Paris publisher of educational and entertaining books for the young, announces a "Histoire des États-Unis, racontée à la jeunesse, par Th. Wentworth, traduite par MM. G. Ovrée et A. Varemberg." The cutting short of Col. Higginson's name in this characteristic French fashion will fortunately do no harm, and we may hope for his 'Young Folks' History of the United States' as great a success in France as here; it is fully as much needed there.

—The second and concluding paper on "The English Workingman and Commercial Crises," by Octave Thanet, is the prominent contribution to *Lippincott's* for May, as its predecessor was of the April number. It is a study of the causes which created and have widened the gulf between the laborer and the higher classes. The philanthropic efforts of England, both private and public, have shown that the condition of the farmer is not due to class oppression, Mr. Thanet thinks. Though the promise of the free-traders to cheapen food went unfulfilled, wages advanced more than grain, capital immensely increased in proportion to population, the number of paupers decreased one-fourth from 1851 to 1857, and the panic of the latter year was so temporary that it disclosed the great gain in the country's recuperative power. Still, the laborer's general condition has not improved, and the remedy for this is yet to be sought. He is improvident; loss of work brings him on the poor-rates in from a fortnight to six months; he lives without hope, and dies in the station he was born in; he marries earlier and more heedlessly than any other class; his standard of comfort is low, so that increased wages generally lead him into extravagance and dissipation; he fights against the great forces of the modern world—combination of capital, division of labor, and machinery—which every other class has accepted, and is thus practically "an uncivilized man in a civilized world." The remedy cannot be a return to feudalism in any respect. It is only civilization that enables England to feed her 24,000,000, scantily as they are now fed. The only alternative is for the laborer to adapt himself to civilization. And the task of the future, according to Mr. Thanet, is the enlightenment of labor to this end. He mentions various agencies in detail, among which he sets a high value upon co-operation.

—In the May *Atlantic* Mr. Howells brings us back to human interest in "The Undiscovered Country," and we have a near prospect of something more vivacious than Shakers and Spiritualists in the re-entrance of the cynical Boston journalist. Mr. Aldrich's "The Stillwater Tragedy" busies itself with retracing its steps, and is far less sensational and more like the Rollo books than the opening chapters. Mr. Bishop has a good short story called "McIntyre's False Face." Mr. White resumes his "British Americanisms," and is betrayed into asking, apropos of Mr. Bartlett's including "mahogany" among words usually regarded as peculiar to the United States, "What human creature on the outside of a lunatic asylum ever so regarded it?" "The Examination System in Education" is sensibly and suggestively discussed by Willard Brown; there is a paper on "The Democratic Presidential Nomination" that anybody might have written; the conclusion of the "Records" of the late Mr. Hunt is trivial enough to be almost in bad taste; and among the literary articles and reviews, of which latter there are many, is a paper on Crabbe by G. E. Woodberry, and one by T. S. Perry on Zola's latest novel, which Mr. Perry finds very nasty indeed, and does not scruple to say so vigorously. This is more just than to call Zola "a mediocre writer," and his position "a very second-rate" one, or, in fact, than much of the article, to our mind; a few more articles of this sort, however, may make it impossible to differ from them publicly.

—Up to the first short story there is not a weak article in *Harper's* for May, unless, as we probably should, we except the last one—on the Metropolitan Museum. This has a certain timeliness and utility which to some extent will compensate its shortcomings. It errs not through excess of praise of the trustees for their liberality and devotion, but by



fostering just that complacency over the method and result of past outlays which Mr. Stillman so forcibly criticises in our present issue. Mr. Henry Van Dyke, jr.'s, "Red River of the North" is an unbiassed description of a farming region rich enough to dispense with the exaggerations of interested capitalists, but not inviting enough to warrant one-half that has been written about it. The story is freshly and humorously told with the help of many interesting illustrations. We have found Mr. Henry Brace's "Old Catskill" above the average of this class of historical magazine articles. More excellent portraits accompany Mrs. John Lillie's second article on "Music and Musicians" in England, which deals with Albert Hall oratorios, the Bach Choir performances, the pianoforte concerts of Hallé and others at St. James's Hall and the Crystal Palace, the ballad concerts, the Moscheles musical parties, etc. "The Shad and the Alewife," by Mr. James W. Milner, and Mrs. Mary Treat's "Home Studies in Nature"—on spiders, as heretofore—will repay reading. Mr. Edward Cary shows us the best side of "Civil-Service Reform in New York" when he describes the *modus operandi* of the Custom-house examinations, and Mr. James's admirable practice in the Post-office. Mr. James, we are told, does not profess to be a reformer and does not cease to take part in politics; it is, therefore, probably owing to his lack of any ambition to be President that we hear no such insinuations against the sincerity and good faith of his examinations as the *Times*, for example, constantly utters against those instituted by authority of Secretary Sherman.

—The last concert of Dr. Damrosch's Symphony Society, which took place at Steinway Hall on Saturday, was the crowning effort of its conscientious, energetic, and enthusiastic head. Two names only occurred on the programme, Beethoven and Wagner. The master of the classical school was represented by his Ninth Symphony, the greatest instrumental work which the world has yet seen; the creator and hitherto unapproached master of the modern dramatic school of music, by one of the most powerful scenes of his great trilogy, the "Ring of the Nibelung"—the third act of "Siegfried," a work of immense proportions. The opening instrumental introduction in G minor is highly characteristic in its sharply-accentuated rhythm of the approach of the war-god *Wotan*, who has come to ask of the all-knowing goddess *Erda* the future fate of the gods and of his favorite child, the Walküre *Brünnhilde*. In the duet which ensues, the wild accents of *Wotan* are invariably accompanied by staccato trumpet and tuba notes, while *Erda*'s solemn words of warning float mysteriously over the long-drawn chords of the string instruments. A magnificent effect is produced, as the goddess gradually relapses into the slumber from which she has been awakened and sinks beneath the ground, by the muffled drums, cymbals, and harps. The following duet between *Siegfried* and *Wotan* is full of grandeur and power, and the climax is reached at the moment when *Siegfried* with his great sword *Nothing* shatters *Wotan*'s spear, that bars his passage to the hill on which *Brünnhilde* rests. The closing duet between *Siegfried* and *Brünnhilde*, whom he has roused from her long sleep, is one of fire and passion such as has perhaps never been heard in a concert room. In spite of some drawbacks—the absence of scenic accessories, the rather ludicrous effect of hearing *Erda* (Mrs. Norman) sing in English, *Siegfried* and *Brünnhilde* (Signor Campanini and Mrs. Swift) sing in Italian, and *Wotan* (Mr. Remmertz) sing in Rhenish-German, and insufficient rehearsing, both of the singers and the orchestra—the performance was exceedingly good.

—The public rehearsal of the sixth and last concert of the Brooklyn Philharmonic Society took place on Monday afternoon. The performance opened with a characteristic instrumental arrangement of Bach's Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue, made familiar during the present season by Mr. Joseffy's frequent repetitions of it. This was followed by the two scenes of the third act of the "Götterdämmerung." Those who heard Dr. Damrosch's performance of the third act of "Siegfried" two days before in New York, must have been astonished at the versatility of Wagner's genius. While in the latter composition the wildest passions prevailed throughout, with only one or two brief intervals of calm, a most charming romantic and idyllic tone rules the scenes which Mr. Thomas performed on Monday. The opening number is the famous trio of the three Rhine daughters awaiting the hero *Siegfried*, from whom they hope to obtain the famous Ring of the Nibelung, of which they are the rightful keepers. The closing scene is between *Siegfried*, *Gunter*, and the traitor *Hagen*, in which *Siegfried*'s long story of his life is accompanied by the leading motives of the different situations involved—the motive of the Ring, of Walballa, of

the sword, of the fire charm, and especially the lovely bird motive—altogether one of the most beautiful tone-pictures ever conceived. Then follows *Siegfried*'s sudden death at the hands of the murderer *Hagen*, and the scene closes with that colossal funeral march which Mr. Thomas has produced once before this season, and which seems to express the woe of a whole world mourning for its hero. The performance was fine in all respects. The three ladies were excellent, Miss Henne's lovely mezzo-soprano often sounding with mellow richness above the others. Signor Campanini was fully imbued with the spirit of the music and sang it with perfect taste. Mr. Remmertz was in good voice and sang in tune, a compliment which cannot always be paid him. As for Mr. Thomas and his orchestra, they had completely mastered the transcendent difficulties of the work, and the conductor led his forces with as much comfortable self-composure and good-temper as if they were playing a Haydn symphony. The work of the Brooklyn Philharmonic has been exceptionally interesting and meritorious during the past season, and the wholesome influence of Mr. Thomas's high qualities as a conductor and a musician is more and more perceptible.

—Both the Portuguese and the Brazilians are making extensive preparations to commemorate fitly the third centennial of the death of their great epic poet, Luiz de Camões (June 10, 1580-1880). The royal Government at Lisbon will dispatch a war-vessel to some of the French ports to convey to Portugal all men of letters who may like to attend the jubilee and have obtained passes at the Portuguese legation in Paris. The International Literary Congress which year before last met in that city, and last year in London, is said this year to be summoned to Lisbon. The festivals are to consist not only of the publication of new and accurate editions of the '*Lusiadas*,' but also of critical commentaries on it and the minor poems of Camões; and of lectures, dramatic representations, unveiling of new statues, etc., all relating to Camões and his works. The Portuguese papers abound with details concerning some of the new editions. Sr. Biel, of Porto, will publish only fifty-two copies of a very rich and accurate reprint of the second edition of the '*Lusiadas*' (1572), preceded by an essay on the poet by Sr. J. M. Mendes Leal, one of the best Portuguese writers, now representing his Government in Paris as envoy extraordinary. This edition will be illustrated with fourteen steel engravings, ten chromo-types, sixteen wood-cuts, and eleven photo-engravings. The *Nacional* printing office, also of Porto, will publish an edition with a thorough "enquiry into the history of the text," by Sr. Theophilo Braga, the best living authority on the history of the Portuguese language. The publisher Corazzi, of Lisbon, has in preparation a very sumptuous edition, of which only one hundred copies will be issued. It will be prefaced by an essay on the poet by Sr. Latino Coelho, beyond doubt the most elegant modern writer in Camões's language. Srs. Abranches and Duarte dos Santos, also of Lisbon, will publish an edition of the '*Lusiadas*' with a new life of the author, by Sr. Pinheiro Chagas. The Government Printing-office has in preparation a new edition of the Latin translation by Frei Agostinho Macedo. The Viscount Juromenha, to whose munificence is due one of the best editions (in many respects the very best) of all the works of Camões, will have ready the seventh and last volume of his superior work. This volume contains an historical commentary on the subject of the '*Lusiadas*.' Besides these, there will be other new editions of Camões's works. The *Jornal das Viagens*, of Porto, will issue a '*Parnaso*,' or new and complete collection of Camões's lyric poems, preceded by an essay by Sr. Theophilo Braga, above referred to. A Lisbon publisher is preparing a '*Bibliotheca Camoneana*,' or analytical list of all works, translations, etc., of the great poet and his productions. Some new translations will also commemorate this literary jubilee. The seventh complete English version has just reached us from the Government Printing-office at Lisbon; it is by Mr. Robert Ffrench Duff. A German translation of all the lyric poems of Camões, by Dr. Wilhelm Storck, of the University of Münster, has also appeared, as well as a '*Critico-biographical Study*' of the poem and poet, by Dr. Karl von Reinhardtstoettner, of the Polytechnic School of Munich. Dr. Robert Avé-Lallemant, for many years a resident of Rio de Janeiro, will soon issue his essay, entitled '*Camões, the greatest Poet of Portugal*,' with Hermann Foltz, of Leipzig, for his publisher.

—The public festivals at Lisbon will consist of lectures on the 8th, 9th, and 10th of June upon the historical, philological, literary, and philosophical aspects of Camões and his works. These lectures will be under the auspices of the "Curso Superior de Lettras," or Royal Academy of Letters of Portugal. The proceedings will be published soon afterwards at the Government Printing-office, from Portuguese-cast type and home-

made paper. In the city of Porto, on the same days, there will be, besides lectures, dramatic representations of new pieces dealing with the subjects of the 'Lusiadas' and of Camões's life. Several statues of the poet are to be unveiled in various Portuguese cities, and the National Mint will have ready a large commemorative medal of gold and bronze.

—The Brazilians, whose language is the Portuguese, are not behind in their preparations to pay homage to the greatest poet of their literature. The corner-stone of the new library building of the "Gabinete de Leitura," in Rio de Janeiro, will be laid on June 10. The façade of the building is to be in the "Manueline" style, which was current at the time of Dom Emmanuel, the Portuguese sovereign when Brazil was discovered. The interior of the library, which is intended to accommodate 100,000 volumes, has been designed mainly by an American architect of this city. The "Gabinete" has already 60,000 volumes. Its directors are preparing a centenary edition of the 'Lusiadas,' followed by a Vocabulary by Sr. Adolpho Coelho, of Porto, one of the best living authorities on the philology of the Romance languages. The "Gabinete" has also ordered a new steel portrait of Camões, to be awarded as a prize to the best scholars in the public schools of both Brazil and Portugal during the year 1880. The Brazilian writer, Miguel de Lemos, a resident of Paris, will publish in that city a philosophical study on the poet. The same "Gabinete" of Rio will publish an *édition de luxe* of the lyric poems, and has ordered a bust of Camões and three hundred large commemorative medals. A great musical festival will be held at Rio de Janeiro by the Portuguese *maestro*, Arthur Napoleão, with an orchestra four hundred and fifty strong. All the Portuguese societies of Rio will unite in a series of lectures, receptions, etc., which have not yet been fully decided upon, but will take place on the 8th-10th of June.

#### GRAY'S RELIGION AND SCIENCE.\*

THE readers of 'Darwiniana' will know what to expect of this volume, and will not be disappointed. They will find the same frank simplicity of style, the same intermingling of free scientific investigation and tender religious reverence, and in the abstruser metaphysics of the theme the same points of weakness. Dr. Gray does not hesitate to admit the failure of the cosmogony of Genesis, and indeed is not greatly concerned over it. He thinks it of little importance that it is now shown to be a compilation of untrustworthy primeval tradition, so long as we can see that it is impregnated with ideas that the world will never outgrow. "For its fundamental note is the declaration of one God, maker of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible—a declaration which if physical science is unable to establish, it is equally unable to overthrow." The old doctrine of distinct species, separately created by special divine fiat, "died a royal death with Agassiz," its last great supporter. "I am not aware," he says again, "that it now has any scientific upholder." Nature is seen to have been an unbroken series of forms without a break even between plant and animal, or animal and man. And one of the great laws of its growth Darwin has established. Natural selection by competition in the struggle for life is no longer to be treated as a hypothesis, or even as a theory; it has become established law. "It is a truth—a catena of facts and direct inferences from facts." "Taken in its fullest sense [it] is the only one known to me which can be called a real cause [of development] in the scientific sense of the term. Other modern hypotheses assign metaphysical, vague, or verbal causes"; this one is scientific, and certain. "There is no doubt that natural selection operates; the open question is, What do its operations amount to?" Will it explain the rise from the simplest to the highest form? Given the variations in birth, it shows satisfactorily how the best forms are preserved; but what law produces the variations?

Here we come upon Dr. Gray's principal point of difference with Mr. Darwin, who regards these variations as the slight modification which varying external circumstances produce in the delicate process of the transmission of parental traits by inheritance, and finds no evidence of any tendency to vary in any one special direction more than another. Dr. Gray, on the other hand, thinks that there is evidence of a special tendency to vary in certain directions (upward directions, we gather), indicating some undiscovered and perhaps undiscoverable natural law governing them. It would be interesting to know what the evidence is on which he relies, and whether it is anything more than the tendency of plants which have once sported in some respect to continue their roving

in this unsettled direction. It is but a short time since it was held by very eminent naturalists that there was an unconquerable tendency in just the opposite direction from that in which Dr. Gray sees it, namely, to revert to the specific type. It would probably require a far larger amount of evidence to convince naturalists now of any such inscrutable tendency as this other one which our author hopes to find. The law of development is reasonably complete and adequate without this unknown factor; and tendency theories, though very pretty, are apt to be misleading, either in theology or science.

Whether there is or is not any such tendency, Dr. Gray does not suggest any supernatural interposition in regard to it. As a Christian he believes in divine control of the universe, but he thinks that it is by natural means under natural laws that the divine power works. We have no doubt (though it is not anywhere clearly stated) that his belief is that which has satisfied the greatest minds in all ages, the trust in an eternal first cause underlying all change, an infinite substance informing all phenomena. Giving up special providences he can still believe in the divine Being on other grounds, and secure in the light of a higher revelation, calmly abandon all the attempted arguments from nature, content with the "assurance that if we bring the idea of God to nature we may find nature wholly compatible with that idea," and what we lose in directness we may gain in breadth and depth. This is, we are sure, the true reconciliation of religion and science, leaving science untrammelled and religion unalloyed. It is time that the loose talk about the Darwinian theory as a fanciful speculation of evil-disposed scientists was arrested; and while the present confusion of mind on the subject exists it can hardly be too often or too plainly set forth. Here we should like to leave these lectures; but there are one or two points where the author's usually clear sight fails him, and he turns longingly back towards the abandoned land. Thus we find him towards the end quoting with approval Balfour's argument for supernatural interference in earthly affairs and treating it as a true scientific cause, an argument which it is quite impossible to reconcile with the fundamental principle of modern science, that every event has and has ever had its adequate physical consequent, every natural effect its preceding natural cause, since the beginning. Indeed, in one passage our author seems to dispute this principle itself. Taking this in connection with his avowed belief in miracles it would seem that if we gave it its full weight it would destroy all the force of the argument which the lectures were written to set forth. Then, too, we find him unwilling to relinquish the argument of design, though he is not at first quite confident of its strength, and has himself shown its uselessness. Let us look at this more in detail.

We may separate the thinkers whom this celebrated argument from the natural to the supernatural can affect into three classes, and we shall then see that it affects them in different ways, but has no real validity for any of them. The first is the party of the extreme Right, the orthodox conservatives who have not relaxed in any way their old faith, and look upon geologic remains or scientific observations that conflict with the Holy Writ as misunderstood or deceitful. They see everywhere in life the traces of direct divine intervention, and physical laws become of little importance in comparison. The cause they look for is the first cause, and the unbroken chain of scientific antecedent and consequent they cannot tolerate. The Paleyan proof of providential design is grateful to them, for it shows this divine action in a satisfactory way. But it can have no convincing power, for it merely exhibits in an imperfect manner the great probability of an intelligent supervision which they were perfectly sure of at starting. It is a mere illustration—nothing more. It is an example of the internal consistency of a scheme which it cannot do anything of itself to establish.

At the other extreme the party of the Left, the scientific materialists, have other objects and other methods. What they seek is the physical attributes of matter, the order of the succession of its phenomena, and they have nothing to do with supernatural causes. A natural law is to them not the edict of a divine ruler, but a convenient statement of some invariable property of matter. They look upon matter as self-existent, endowed with a few simple properties of attraction and repulsion, of direct or vibrating motion, of chemical, crystalline, or organic combination, and assert that, these being possessed, the whole universe as we know it must necessarily result; and they refuse to go any further, regarding all spiritual insight or revelation as entirely beyond their ken. It was against this class that Paley aimed his thesis, and it is against this class now that Dr. Gray and the Conservatives seek to employ it. But they do not fully realize the change since Paley wrote, and the great accession of strength that the theories of evolution of Lamarck, and Darwin and

\* "Natural Science and Religion. Two lectures delivered to the Theological School of Yale College. By Asa Gray. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880. 8vo, pp. 111.



Haeckel have brought to the materialists. We pointed out more than three years ago, in reviewing 'Darwiniana,' how Paley, with his consummate powers of logical analysis, had anticipated the possibility of just such a scheme of evolution, and had recognized that against it his argument would fail, but had rejected it as unproved. Now this evolution has become the head of the corner, and we must accept the consequences he foresaw. We have explained away the complexity of adaptation, for which no other theory than that of special divine arrangement would account, and shown how it must arise from the simple qualities known to inhere in matter. With this the design argument fails, much in the same way that the argument from supernatural interference at the end of each geological period fails before evidence that these periods did not end in the supposed cataclysm of destruction, but in quiet transformation into their successors under unvarying natural laws. It is not enough to reply that this is only transferring divine action to the beginning, for the materialist denies any such beginning, or, admitting it, says that the creation of these few attributes does not show any foreknowledge or intelligence or continued existence. A most powerful weapon of attack upon the unbeliever is thus lost, but, as Dr. Gray himself has pointed out, this need not shake our own belief, which has very different support.

Between these extreme schools lies the third—the moderate party to which Dr. Gray really belongs, notwithstanding the shortcomings we have noted. These thinkers combine the view of science of the extreme Left with the intuition and revelation of the extreme Right, and unite them harmoniously by making each supreme in its own province. They see in nature invariable law, and study it for that law, but they unite with it the higher knowledge of the eternal lawgiver and the spiritual life. They look to science for secondary causes and no other, and to religion for primary causes and no other. In their practical conduct of life religion may still give the vivifying emotion, while reason furnishes the guiding rules. They can afford to let the scientific part of the Bible go, as Dr. Gray says, for the essence that gave it life remains. But to them the design argument is worth least of all, for it not only involves intelligent creation with complete foreknowledge and fore-ordination to begin with, and so reduces the argument to the inevitable circle; but it violates the elementary principle of combination by which alone these thinkers are able to unite the tenets of schools so diverse—the principle of confining each of the two elements of the union, science and religion, strictly to its own sphere, within which it is free from interference or control. It is thus of no use to anybody, and belongs in the museum of antiquated weapons of logic, for which theology can give us so many specimens. It is hardly necessary to notice Dr. Gray's surely hasty remarks about setting up the design argument, notwithstanding its shakiness, in order to meet a belief in chance. There is no more chance about the one theory than the other. All directed variation is no more accidental than special variation. The most out-and-out materialist is as free from this charge as Dr. Gray himself. We do not recall the writings of any modern materialist of importance where fortuity is put forward as a cause. Their belief is ugly and barren enough as it is without attributing to it absurdities like this. Their extreme position is, indeed, from a logical point of view invulnerable, like the extreme position, whether Calvinistic or Catholic, on the other side. But if the instincts revolt against the imprisoning walls of both extremes there is but one intermediate position that can be safely held—that union of each in its own field which we have described. Not that this true medium involves *per se* any particular scientific theory or religious faith. The holder of it may accept or reject the meteoric theory of stellar evolution or Dr. Gray's undiscovered law directing variations, but he must do it for scientific not religious reasons. He may believe or disbelieve in Swedenborg's view of God's downpouring love and knowledge, or Spinoza's demonstration of the divine unity, or Tertullian's doctrine of the Trinity, but he must do it on purely religious not scientific grounds. This is the elementary law of their combination, and this our author does not fully realize.

#### SMITH'S GLADSTONE.\*

WHEN a book like this is published in the United States about an American statesman its character is from the outset so clearly defined as to render the task of analysis and criticism simple. A "campaign life" with us plays a well-recognized and important part in the economy of politics, and is seldom supposed by any one familiar with these to have any relation either to literature, history, or biography. But

for many reasons the production of "campaign lives" has never received much attention from English politicians. It is the original obscurity of so many Presidential candidates that makes campaign biography so necessary with us. When a convention has nominated some local politician as the candidate for President, the very unfamiliarity of the world at large with the name and exploits of the great man makes it necessary that the facts should be published, and it is a natural and inevitable result that some friend of the candidate, gifted with literary fluency, should come forward and tell the thrilling story in a volume of convenient size, shape, and price. In no other way would the party know who their "standard-bearer" was; how, if a Republican, he volunteered with one of the first regiments that left his native State, took early ground in favor of abolishing slavery, and during the period of reconstruction never wavered in his support of equal rights; or how, if a Democrat, he has since his school-days on every proper occasion maintained that "ours is a government of divided powers," and that the only safe course is to abide by those fundamental principles of constitutional law handed down to us by Jefferson and expounded by Silas Wright and other great men. No such necessity as this, however, exists in England. The foremost English politicians are not the products of nominating conventions and the "unit" rule. They are men who have been constantly before the public as leaders of the Government side or the Opposition in the House of Commons during the best part of their lives, and whose careers and opinions are thoroughly well known. "Campaign lives" of Mr. Gladstone or Lord Beaconsfield are as much out of place as a campaign life of Washington in his time would have been.

Nevertheless, Mr. George Barnett Smith's volume—though the author repels the idea in his preface that his biography has any "polemical character"—seems to have many of the qualities which in this country mark a book out as a campaign biography. This is perhaps most conspicuously apparent in his final chapter, devoted to the "personal characteristics" of Mr. Gladstone. It is the peculiarity of the campaign biographer that he is not at all content with showing that his subject is a great man; he must show that there are no bounds to his greatness. The pen of the campaign biographer is, in fact, that of the enthusiast. Mr. Smith says of Mr. Gladstone that "in almost every movement of the age he has been a participant, whether that movement be social, scientific, philanthropic, political, or religious; while at some point or other his sentiments and sympathies have impinged upon those of every class in the state" (p. 571). He immediately adds, with a curious combination of climax and bathos, "the ex-premier is not only the most versatile orator, the most brilliant debater, and the foremost member of Parliament of his age, but is pre-eminently a Christian statesman." We might add numerous other extracts to show what sort of a biographer Mr. Smith is; but it is unfair to his subject to quote them. The book as a whole is not a successful performance. It does give in a tedious and uninteresting form the main facts of Mr. Gladstone's life, but the materials are all to be found elsewhere and found in a better state. With regard to the Crimean war, for instance, nothing could well be worse than Mr. Smith's statement of the causes which led to it. His account of the quarrel over the Holy Places is summed up in the following sentences: "The difficulties which had arisen with respect to these places already threatened disturbance to the peace of Europe, and they were the primal origin of the ensuing war. France and Russia were, at this period, at daggers-drawn with regard to the question of ecclesiastical privileges at Jerusalem. Upon this particular difference England was bound to admit that Russia had right on her side; but by and by the rift widened." In any critical account of Mr. Gladstone's life the Crimean War and his relation to it would be of extreme importance. At the time of the last Russo-Turkish war his enemies insisted that his attitude of friendliness toward Russia was inconsistent with his support of Turkey in 1853; Mr. Gladstone repelled the charge, on the ground that on both occasions he upheld the interests of the public law of Europe against a Power which was threatening to infringe it. In order to understand either the accusation or the reply it is certainly necessary to have a clear statement of the facts of the case before us; but such a statement Mr. Smith is far from giving.

It is a strong proof of Mr. Gladstone's force of intellect and character that even the dulness of Mr. Smith's pages is not able to efface it. Even from the stupidest chronicle the reader gets the impression of a great man, of a man whose name will live in the history of his country as that of the greatest political leader of our day since Palmerston. It is perhaps too soon to compare him with English public men of other generations, but for the formation of a general impression as to the sources and meaning of his influence and career the materials are ample. His politi-

\* 'The Life of the Right Honorable William Ewart Gladstone, M.P., D.C.L., etc. By George Barnett Smith.' New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1880.

cal career extends over a period in which the English constitution, English law, and English society have passed through changes perhaps more momentous than have occurred in any other fifty years of the history of the country, and it is not unfair to say that these changes have been themselves reflected in Mr. Gladstone's own life. To say that he began life as a Conservative but feebly indicates the change in his opinions which the progress of events has produced. Mr. Gladstone was born in 1809, and was surrounded by extreme Conservative influences down to the time of his entry into Parliament in 1832. His father was a Liverpool merchant and a friend of Canning. He was educated at a time when the example of France had brought liberal principles into discredit throughout Europe, and particularly in England. He obtained his seat in Parliament in 1832 through the influence of the Duke of Newcastle, on the invitation of the Red electors of Newark. The questions put to him on the hustings by hostile voters carry us back vividly to the period of the Reform Bill and the anti-slavery agitation. One of these questions was, "Whether his father was not a dealer in human flesh?" Another was, "What state of things did he wish to return to? and ought a man to be put to death for forging a £1 note the same as for killing his fellow-creature?" Mr. Gladstone's address to the electors of the borough warned them generally against "that unenquiring and indiscriminating desire for change amongst us, which threatens to produce along with partial good a melancholy preponderance of mischief," and specifically opposed immediate emancipation, whether with or without compensation. Of the early principles and inherited habits of thought which led to the expression of such opinions in 1832 not a trace remains in 1880, and Mr. Gladstone is to-day the leader of a party which in early life he looked upon with the most extreme suspicion and distrust. This change is perhaps the most interesting psychological fact in Mr. Gladstone's life. A change from liberal to conservative opinions is one of the most common political phenomena. It is even frequently said by political writers that the advance of years of itself tends to make all mature politicians conservatives, just as youth tends to make every one a radical. But in Mr. Gladstone's case we have an ardent young Tory converted, and not very early in life either—for down to the time of Sir Robert Peel's death in 1850 he remained a Conservative, at least so far as party connection went—to liberal opinions, his attachment to which appears to have increased as time has gone on. He has himself stated in a striking way within a year or two the difference between his early and his present attitude of mind. In a speech made at Oxford in 1878 he said:

"I think that the principle of the Conservative party is jealousy of liberty and of the people, only qualified by fear; but I think the policy of the Liberal party is trust in the people, only qualified by prudence. . . . I am not in the least degree conscious that I have less reverence for antiquity, for the beautiful, and good, and glorious charges that our ancestors have handed down to us as a patrimony to our race, than I had in other days when I held other political opinions. I have learnt to set the true value upon human liberty, and in whatever I have changed, there and there only has been the explanation of the change."

This, however, is rather a statement of the result than an explanation of its causes.

But a more remarkable fact even than the change in question with regard to Mr. Gladstone is that he has never been seriously accused of insincerity, although all his later convictions are at war with those of the party to which he belonged in early life. His bitterest enemies have never really doubted the honesty of his professions or suspected him of advocating doctrines which he does not at heart believe in. Indeed, the view taken of him by those who sympathize least with his tone of mind is that he has rather too much conscience than too little. The following description of him by the historian of the Crimean War was once thought by hostile critics to present a very acute analysis of his character:

"If he was famous for the splendor of his eloquence, for his unaffected piety, and for his blameless life, he was celebrated far and wide for a more than common liveliness of conscience. He had once imagined it to be his duty to quit a Government, and to burst through strong ties of friendship and gratitude, by reason of a thin shade of difference on the subject of white or brown sugar. It was believed that if he were to commit even a little sin, or to imagine an evil thought, he would instantly arraign himself before the dread tribunal which awaited him within his own bosom; and that, his intellect being subtle and microscopic, and delighting in casuistry and exaggeration, he would be likely to give his soul a very harsh trial, and treat himself as a great criminal for faults too minute to be visible to the naked eyes of laymen. His friends lived in dread of his virtues as tending to make him whimsical and unstable; and the practical politicians, perceiving that he was not to be depended upon for party purposes, and was bent upon none but lofty objects, used to

look upon him as dangerous—used to call him behind his back a good man—a good man in the worst sense of the term."

This reputation for goodness and sincere devotion to "lofty objects," which is perhaps in the long run the most valuable possession a popular leader can have, is undoubtedly the explanation of much of the success of his career. Goodness, however, in the hot battle of English politics during the last fifty years would not have brought Mr. Gladstone to his present commanding position had it not been reinforced by remarkable intellectual gifts. His genius as a financier has been so much dwelt upon that it has passed into a commonplace. It may be worth while remarking, however, that he stands alone among financiers in making finance when he touches it a popular subject. There is no branch of the "dismal science" which is more unattractive to even the educated man than financial administration, and the extraordinary power of Mr. Gladstone's eloquence can perhaps best be judged by the fact that he has been able to gather crowded audiences by speeches on a subject which usually drives them away. This power of imparting interest to a dry subject is, however, with him by no means confined to finance. It seems to spring from a deep earnestness of disposition, which for the time colors every subject to which he turns his mind. Mr. R. H. Hutton in his sketch of Mr. Gladstone has noticed this peculiarity:

"He cares even more than trades-unions for the welfare of the workmen, more than the manufacturers for the interests of capital, more for the cause of retrenchment than the most jealous and avowed foes of Government expenditure, more for the spread of education than the advocates of a compulsory national system, more for careful constitutional precedent than the Whigs, and more for the spiritual independence of the Church than the highest Tories."

This earnestness is perhaps the most fundamental trait of Mr. Gladstone's character. Whether it is in any way connected with his Scotch blood is a point which must be left to English criticism to settle.

To turn to what the French would call the defects of Mr. Gladstone's qualities, his lack of humor is almost a necessary correlative of his zeal. An instructive contrast might be drawn in this respect between Mr. Gladstone and Lord Palmerston. Palmerston was in nothing more thoroughly English than in his strong sense of humor, and the number of occasions on which he extricated himself from serious difficulties by means of it was very great. It was not the amiable cynicism of Lord Melbourne, founded on a genuine indifference, but the strong practical humor of a man of the world, who regards the immediate object in view of far greater importance than general considerations of abstract propriety and consistency, and looks upon all abstractions with a good-natured contempt. Mr. Gladstone has nothing of this feeling, and consequently we find him always anxious and always ready to express an anxiety that all the steps in his long and eventful career shall be consistent with each other and with his general views of public duty. As he has much zeal and little or no humor, so also his career has very little of that mystery which has often rendered the lives of politicians of a far less calibre attractive. His intellect is anything but simple; his character is simplicity itself. And that "casuistry" of which his enemies accuse him is the product of both traits. The political acts of a great party leader are what mathematicians call the resultants of the combinations of his own aims and objects with a vast variety of aims and objects of others with whom he is sometimes closely, at other times remotely, in sympathy. Mr. Gladstone's aims and objects have always been singularly pure. Those of his associates have been good, bad, and indifferent. Party leadership could hardly have been carried on by Mr. Gladstone except by the help of a little "casuistry." In fact, we may almost say that "casuistry" has been the homage which his intellect has paid to his character.

#### THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.\*

THE literature on German emigration to this country has received a valuable contribution in the volume recently published by Mr. Gustav Koerner, of Belleville, Illinois, late Lieut.-Governor of that State, and U. S. Minister to Spain under President Lincoln. The book is chiefly composed of short biographical notices of Germans who came over between the years 1818 and 1848, and who have in some way or other distinguished themselves. It is evidently the fruit of long personal experience and of laborious research in a field where accurate information is not easily accessible. A large number of Germans in this country will be

\* "Das Deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, 1818-1848. Von Gustav Koerner." Cincinnati: Verlag von A. E. Wilde & Co. 1880.



gratified to find in it reliable data concerning the origin and history of men and families with whose names they have become more or less familiar; later generations also will refer with pleasure to these pages for the memories that are there preserved from oblivion. But the chief and general merit of the work will be found to consist in its illustration of the rule, that in order to render the immigration of Germans profitable to themselves and to their adopted country they must enter into American life as it is, willing not only to influence but also to be influenced by that specifically American civilization which had been developed before them by a population mainly of a different origin. That the modern German immigration is fulfilling the conditions of a satisfactory amalgamation with Americans hardly needs to be proved; it will, nevertheless, be interesting also to Americans to trace the process, which is not always an easy one, through the varied history of individuals.

The book is dedicated to Friedrich Kapp, of whose works on the earlier German immigration it forms a worthy continuation. During the fifty years between our Revolution and the end of the wars of Napoleon emigration from Germany had almost ceased. In the eighteenth century it had been recruited chiefly from the poorest classes, who were driven away by sheer misery, education being almost confined to the ministers of the Gospel who accompanied or followed the masses. During the fifty years of cessation that German element had either become amalgamated with the English-speaking population or, where it continued to maintain a separate existence, had sunk into a low and stagnant life totally cut off from the development of the mother country, and at the same time not assimilated with the higher American life, its only product being that horrible jargon known as Pennsylvania Dutch. When, during the first quarter of this century, emigration began to revive, many undoubtedly were again driven across the ocean by misery, but the masses, and particularly their leaders, showed what a great change their country itself had undergone during those fifty years. The idealistic elevation of sentiment bequeathed to the new generation by their literary heroes and philosophers had combined with the national feeling awakened by the crushing despotism of Napoleon. In this fiery furnace of national misfortune the German people were stirred to their depths, and their character received that purification and strengthening which has led to the political regeneration of their country in our own day.

We all know how slow was the process by which this goal has been reached. It was, however, in the minds of the educated classes from the beginning of that period, and it was this that gave its character to the new emigration. A host of young men imbued with that spirit, baffled in their attempts at political improvement, and persecuted by blind reactionary governments, joined the ranks of emigrants and became their leaders and pioneers. Comparatively few of them remained in the Eastern States; among these were, however, such men as Follen, Beck, and Lieber, who by their weight made up for the smallness of their number. A large proportion even of the educated German immigrants of that time had set their minds on agricultural pursuits, and followed the then rising tide of Eastern emigration to the fertile West, where, a natural instinct told them, their active spirits were to find a freer field than in the East. We gather from Mr. Koerner's book, which naturally treats of this class of immigrants more fully than of others, that their first experience was full of disappointments. Those who had dreamed of a German commonwealth had soon to awake to the impossibility of their plans. The "Latin farmers" found the plough uncongenial and unprofitable, and had to look for more suitable employment. For this the rapid influx of population offered ample opportunities. A large number took to journalism, and laid the foundation of the German press, which under the succeeding emigration has gained such great influence in the country. American politics promptly engaged their attention, and the nativistic tendencies of the Whig party drove them almost to a man into the ranks of the Democracy. This, however, did not prevent them from joining heartily in the war against rebellion, and from transferring their allegiance largely to the Republican side when the issues were changed.

These German settlers in the West had the advantage over those remaining in the East of growing up side by side with a new population, all settlers like themselves; but if they reaped the fruit of their labors sooner and more abundantly than the others, it must be acknowledged that their success was merited by the manfulness with which they performed the service of pioneers for the succeeding larger immigration. The author himself, in spite of the meagre account to which his modesty has made him limit his own biography, stands forth as a bright example of the speedy transformation of the enthusiastic, educated German into a useful and respected American citizen. The value of such examples will

appear all the greater when we consider that Germany will probably for a long time to come furnish the largest portion of the immigration to the United States, and that the future character of the American people must be to a large degree determined by that element.

The author gives as his principal reason for limiting the period under review to the year 1848 the consideration that the greatly increased literary force brought over by the later immigration will be fully competent to perform the work for their own generation. We trust that this expectation will be realized, but we regret that he has adhered so strictly to his resolution as to exclude notices of such men as Friedrich Kapp and Carl Schurz, both of whom came so near the limit that their lives would have made a most appropriate conclusion. Not unnaturally, too, literary and political rather than professional prominence has determined admission to this biographical collection, so that we find, for example, but a scanty notice of the Wesselhoefes of Boston, who did so much to introduce the homœopathic practice in Boston and vicinity, and to give it a more numerous and respectable adherence, perhaps, than it commands in any other part of the country. To the same neighborhood, again, Spurzheim brought phrenology and won for it distinguished supporters; and as he died there in 1832 and was buried at Mt. Auburn, he was, even if only a bird of passage, entitled to be reckoned as a constituent part of the German "element" in the United States—yet his name is omitted by Mr. Koerner.

The book is written in pure and fluent German, showing but slight traces of Americanisms; it is furnished with a full index, and bears internal evidence of great accuracy in detail.

#### RECENT NOVELS.\*

IN noticing the first part of 'Nana' some weeks ago we spoke of the curious lack of verisimilitude which characterized it, and in the now complete work this is still more evident. The book is far too long, and the second half contains little but iteration of the scenes and incidents of the first. These were monotonous enough, but the whole work is a marvel of tediousness, not even appreciably relieved by what appear to such critics as M. Louis Ulbach sops to salacity, but which we are inclined to think evidences of M. Zola's uncompromising conscientiousness. His lack of humor is absolute, and indeed almost appalling at times, and for imaginativeness it is notorious that he entertains a great contempt; consequently his hard-and-fast theory holds his genius in a subjection that has become servile. No theory can be applied in this way; *a fortiori* one which is in the teeth of all accepted notions. The merit of his better works, such as 'Le Ventre de Paris,' is handicapped rather than assisted by his gospel of naturalism; they are able in spite of it, rather than because of it, in the first place, and, in the second, they are best when his imaginativeness succeeds in freeing itself from the fetters with which he does his utmost to trammel it. But although this is true, and M. Zola has always negatively demonstrated the soundness of the apparent paradox that in art there is nothing so false as unimaginative realism, it is due to 'Nana' to acknowledge that there never has been so successful a positive demonstration of it hitherto. And such a service deserves more than a passing recognition. M. Zola announces with a rather defiant air that he has endeavored to utter a protest against 'Marion Delorme,' 'La Dame aux Camélias,' 'Marco,' and 'Musette,' which he conceives as "a long procession of vice" having a very pernicious effect upon "the imaginations of young girls." The effect of 'Nana' upon such imaginations would certainly be different, but it is not at all clear that it would be less pernicious. Its effect upon other than young girls—whom one would say might be left quite out of the question—would be in the highest degree depressing and vicious if it were not for the antidote of incredulity which it carries with it. Beside 'Nana' one feels that even 'La Dame aux Camélias' is essentially a veracious story; the exaggeration of the *romancier optimiste* is likely to be less misleading than that of the *romancier pessimiste*, for the former makes no such claims to reality as the latter, and the reader is not asked to forego the corrective of his own experiences. The conclusion to be drawn from most of M. Zola's books is that the devil is far blacker than he is painted, and it is gratifying to find him so overdoing the matter in 'Nana' as to convince even the wayfarer that not even the devil can be of the unrelieved blackness with which he is there endued. 'Nana' resembles a scientific treatise upon vice acting *in vacuo*; the action of vicious forces in life is, of course, essentially modified by friction of various kinds, and any novel that is really "naturalistic-

\* 'Nana.' By Emile Zola. Translated by John Stirling. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers. 1880.

tie" will consider these. M. Zola has never done this, but has always employed his acute observation in the vivid depiction of details that give a great air of reality to his works, and go far to disguise the fact that the essence of each of them is conceived as a scientific thesis. Here, however, the details themselves are so monotonous and so clumsily managed as to weaken rather than enforce the truth of what may fairly be called the argument. The one admirable thing in the book is the shallowness of Nana. Everything else is, to reverse the ordinary phrase, too bad to be true; or at least is so set forth as to leave an entirely false total impression. Every man who runs across Nana is ruined, every incident in which she figures is of the dullest vulgarity; there is no revelry even that is not stupid, and no character that is not both vicious and brainless; and the implication that all this is a photograph of a very large part of human life becomes gradually absurd. In other respects than this of unveracity the probable verdict of all serious people, whether anchorites or men of the world, will be that it is a waste of words to consider it at any length. This is the almost unanimous verdict of Paris, where the intricacies of its subject are pretty well understood, it may be assumed, and where the sensation it has made is perhaps explicable on the ground that M. Zola's fame is great and well-earned, and which is always more or less excited over any literary event whatever. 'Nana,' in fine, is not worth reading, but every one who has been irritated by the extent to which the theory of "le naturalisme" has been carried will rejoice that it was written; it is a blow from which the cult of M. Zola will hardly recover.

No romancer has enjoyed more of the contempt and ridicule of the "naturalists" than M. Octave Feuillet, the novelist of the Second Empire. Much of this ridicule he undoubtedly deserves; in such a book as 'Onesta,' to say nothing of reality, "we are not even in the world of literature," as Matthew Arnold said of 'Hernani'; no writer of the most ultra romantic tendencies is more given to what Thackeray called "topsy-turvyfication," which, in spite of the graces of his style and the undoubted charm of many of his portraits, places him among the "minor" French novelists. Nevertheless there is something very attractive about his work which makes 'The Little Countess' a refreshing contrast to the writings of some of his harshest critics. Although it is not among the latest, it is in certain respects the best thing he has done, which is probably due to its slightness. M. Feuillet inclines to melodrama, and in his more elaborate and ambitious efforts, such as 'M. de Camors'—a kind of 'Tom Jones' of the Second Empire—it involves him in intricacies of ideas and feelings where it is quite impossible to follow him without protest against his artificiality. But 'The Little Countess' is distinctly a minor work; it is simple and genuine, and its scheme permits the writer to display all his cleverness, which is great; his tact, which is considerable, and his workmanship, which is perfect. It is not a large enough thing to tempt his imagination to part with experience and observation, which is usually his main error; one may even suspect that the little Countess herself is a portrait, so sympathetically and distinctly is she depicted. There must have been not a few such products of the artificial and yet haphazard society of the Empire; the merit of the book is that it does not paint the manners of the period as illustrated in the conduct of a fiction of M. Feuillet's somewhat sentimental imagination, but the effect of such manners upon a real and passionate nature. The dénouement is very pathetic, and though, as always, the hopelessness of the tragedy seems partly due to the author's wilfulness, there is no slow music to detract from its impressiveness.

It is no small relief, however, to get into the realm of pure romance after sufficient doses of contemporary fiction, and we can heartily commend to all experienced novel-readers the 'Captain Fracasse' of Gautier, which has nothing contemporary about it. It belongs to the category of 'Don Quixote' and 'Tom Jones' and 'Wilhelm Meister'—we are not sure that we ought not to add of 'The Three Spaniards' also. Its reality is, like that of all the old romance, not at all resident in scrupulous and laborious fidelity of local color and infinite detail, but in the truth of its general drift and purport. There are villains and heroes, and maidens and wenches, bravos and faithful old servants, ruined châteaux, castles with moats, old inns, highwaymen, expert swordsmen, actors, noblemen, soldiers, peasants, midnight and midday duels, encounters with ab-

ductors and bandits, gallantries, and, indeed, all the ingredients of the old-fashioned romantic olio. There is a great deal of human nature in it, which the reader wholly given over to the modern novel may easily miss. Heightened as its tone may seem to those who only think of Gautier as a "lapidary of chiselled verse," its exaggeration is unfailingly artistic; the style fits the matter like a glove. It is a striking evidence of Gautier's imaginative range, of his fulness and force. It has about it an air of health and genial humor, of careless ease and absolute freedom, that is superb. A few figures, for example, are used over and over with a frankness which in another writer would betray poverty, but here only augments the sense one has of a wealth of resources that renders picking and choosing quite needless. The hero is the amiable hero of Scott, though a little more accentuated, perhaps. Nearly all the characters are vividly individualized. The time is that of Louis XIII., and we imagine that the archaism of the book is accurate in the main. Between the two translations before us there is little choice; the first-named, however, omits entirely the intrigue between Leander and the Marquise de Bruyères, and thus sacrifices a good deal of humor; this cannot but be regarded as over-squeamishness, as one of the chief characteristics of the book is that there is nothing low about it, and as long as they do not expurgate Fielding it is scarcely too much to demand of our publishers that they should print such a masterpiece of literary art as 'Captain Fracasse' as it was written, or else let it alone.

'The Return of the Princess' is a short story in which the life of the harem in Cairo is portrayed by a young Egyptian princess who has been educated in Paris, and thus views it through Western spectacles. This it does very well, though how much reliance is to be placed upon it will have to be learned elsewhere. As the story in itself is barely more than readable it will be seen that the book is not an important one.

'Democracy' is called "an American novel," but there are traces in it of other than American handiwork. The attentive reader will be in several minds about it; in parts it displays a thorough familiarity with "American institutions," which in others seems so dissociated from any native sympathy as to spring wholly from intimate and long observation from without. In saying that, as a whole, it leaves a general impression such as the work of some clever Englishwoman long resident in Washington and a practised writer, carefully revised and edited by an American, might leave, it is not meant to hazard a guess as to its author, but to give a description of the book. It is written with enough skill to induce a wish that it were more skilful, its cardinal defect being that its two elements, the love story and the political satire, are not better blended. The first half is pretty dull reading, and the rest is of rather more interest than that of the average novel. It is extremely unequal, and a little of it, from a literary point of view, "inscrutably vulgar," to borrow one of its phrases. The story is of an attractive and educated young widow, rather blasé but fond of "power," who takes up her abode in Washington, determined to learn what goes on behind the political curtain, and view the movements of the wheels within wheels for herself. Though she has a notion of reforming all public abuses she is not much overdone. The same can scarcely be said for the Senator who tries to marry her, and whom she looks upon with great favor as a probable President and a coadjutor in the work of reform, until she finds out that his hands are soiled with bribery. Thereupon she throws him over, and it is hinted will some day marry a Virginia gentleman, who is apparently almost the only honorable person Washington contains. As it is the portrayal of Washington politics that the book evidently relies upon, and as it is the love story that is interesting, it cannot be called a great success. Nevertheless, there is much cleverness displayed in the political part. The main difficulty is that it attempts too much. To give a comprehensive picture of the political-social life of Washington something is necessary beyond the depiction of a few types, such as the strong party-man, the civil-service reformer, the cultivated applicant for a foreign mission from Boston, the cynical diplomat from abroad, the chattering woman lobbyist, and so on. These types, moreover, should be carefully and not loosely drawn. It is, for example, both loose and libellous to endue Senator Ratcliffe, from Peoria, Illinois, with the least admirable traits of several well-known public men who are easily recognizable; the result is not a worse man than is conceivable, of course, but a type which either does not exist, or at all events does not figure importantly. No amount of cleverness in making such a character consistent in itself and with its surroundings can make it a truthful type of the

'The Little Countess. From the French of Octave Feuillet.' Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers. 1880.

'Captain Fracasse. From the French of Théophile Gautier. By M. M. Ripley.' Leisure-Hour Series. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1880.

The Same. Translated by Ellen Murray Beam. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1880.

'The Return of the Princess. By Jacques Vincent.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1880.

'Democracy: An American Novel.' Leisure-Hour Series. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1880.



strong party-man of American politics. Ratcliffe confesses to ballot-box stuffing and to having been bribed, and glories therein because his action was for the good of the party. No one needs to be told that, however great the shamelessness of some of our public men, to represent such a man as the probable Republican candidate for President is a perversion which must detract from the force of any picture of American politics. Throughout the book the same error is made, and the reader who mistakes it for portraiture will wonder how such a government can exist in the world, to say nothing of thriving. Onesidedness, however, is apt to defeat itself, and the effect of 'Democracy' will probably be slight on account of the obviousness of its bias and misinterpretation. Otherwise, and considering that it is as sensational in some regards as if it had a blackmailing intention, certain grave offences against good taste—witness the caricature designed to represent the American President's wife, and readily identifiable—might be seriously reprehended. All this part of the book is almost naïvely amateurish.

In 'Louisiana' Mrs. Burnett returns to her favorite scheme of idealizing the lower ten, not having made a marked success of her temporary aberration 'Haworth's,' in which there was only an attempt at the unconventional marriage so dear to her heart. It must be admitted that she is at her best in her ingeniously varied versions of the story of Cinderella, and loses something of the dramatic force which characterizes these when she essays representation of any of the facts of life. Louisiana is a beautiful young girl whose life in North Carolina has been simple and placid until she meets Mr. Lawrence Ferrol, a highly-cultivated literary man from New York. She has never heard of Ruskin, or John Stuart Mill, or 'The Scarlet Letter,' or Worth; about Michael Angelo she is not sure, but is ignorant of "what he did." Nevertheless, after a complication, in which Mr. Ferrol unwittingly affronts her by laughing at her father, who is an ultra North Carolina rustic with quaint ideas of grammar and homely notions about the fine-arts, she becomes Mrs. Ferrol and a great success in New York society. This last circumstance is, of course, told briefly, not portrayed. Mrs. Burnett is wise in always stopping as soon as her heroine is married, instead of attempting to interest us in the wedded bliss of educated men and beauties ignorant of etiquette, though possessed of noble natures and quick intelligences. She creates her own material and handles it very ably; the dialect, and indeed the characterization of Louisiana's father, are excellent; the affection of the two is delightfully exhibited, and there is much real pathos in the story. One of the advantages of a story written from Mrs. Burnett's point of view is that one can be comfortably thrilled by its pathos, undisturbed by the distressing reflection that it has any typical significance.

Miss Woolson's stories have all been printed in the various magazines, but they have merit enough to deserve permanent preservation in their present form.

'The Heart of It' alternates between the remotest wilds of the Sierras and a city of the Atlantic seaboard (presumably Boston), and is mainly noteworthy for the following original complication: Mr. Fred Heron is a young gentleman so ruined by opium-eating that he roams the world with every external appearance of a tramp, gets into a fight with a policeman, and is sentenced therefor to sixty days in the House of Correction on "the island." In the first hour of his incarceration there a very elegant young lady, Miss Carrie Dillaye, sails out of the female ward into his to be regaled with lemons by Mr. Heron, who, having found a balm in this fruit for his opium craving, administers the same for the brandy mania which is the young lady's peculiar infirmity. Her thirst is inherited, and though it seizes her only at very long intervals, a wicked stepmother has taken advantage of it to have her arrested and consigned to this retreat quite unknown to all her own relatives. Mr. Fred's lemons prove so efficacious that the next day he hears "a soft, silvery, tremulous voice, and turning round, there was Miss Dillaye holding out to him a small, flat flask" (of brandy). "Please, sir, if you'll only take it away from me." "I'll do that, Miss Dillaye; but you must do something for me at the same time." Here he hands the lady his opium-pills for safe keeping. The pair, having made this neat exchange of their respective temptations, then enjoy such a *tête-à-tête* as suggests that the facilities for flirtation afforded by a term in the House of Correction have been singularly overlooked hitherto. Nevertheless, beyond the release of one and the escape of the other unjustly incarcerated nothing comes of it all. She

marries not him, but his brother; and he not her, but her cousin. The reader, however, will, we think, conclude that this is "of no consequence."

*Zoölogy for Students and General Readers.* By A. S. Packard, Jr. (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1879. Pp. 719. Large 12mo, illustrated.)—Our higher educational institutions have always needed a much better zoölogy than the market has yet offered—a work comparable to the several leading German hand-books by Thomé, Schmarda, Carus and Gerstaecker, Troschel, Claus, Von Koch and Hayek. The book before us is a marked improvement on our other native zoölogies and a very important approximation toward satisfying the demands of teachers and students, but still to a considerable extent without adaptation to our actual wants and to the purposes for which it was intended. It forms one of the "American Science Series for High-Schools and Colleges," while it bears the title: "Zoölogy for Students and General Readers," with a statement in the preface that it "is designed to be used quite as much in the laboratory or with specimens in hand as in the class-room." Its appearance and typography are commendable, and it is further made attractive by being fully illustrated by about five hundred and fifty figures. The invertebrates are not merely treated on a few pages at the end of the work, but the first half of the volume is devoted to them. In this respect, as in considering the animals in their order of gradual ascent from the lowest to highest, the plan of the more recent European systematic zoölogies is followed. "In working up," says Prof. Packard, "from the simplest forms to those more complex, it is believed that this is the more logical and philosophical method, and that in this way the beginner in the science can better appreciate the gradual unfolding of the lines of animal forms which converge toward his own species [*converge* is not exactly the word we should expect after *unfolding*]. Still, the learner is advised to begin . . . with a specimen in hand, the description of a frog, in order that he may have a standard of comparison, a point of departure from which to survey the lower forms" (p. iv.) The work on the lower forms is too fine and difficult for beginners, for which reason it is best for the student to begin with the coarse anatomy, dissecting a cat, a frog, a fish, and so on, proceeding downwards by the analytic, anatomical method, and only afterwards, in his advanced course, to pursue the inverse order.

On this account, and for other reasons, the book seems not adapted for beginners. It is too bulky for a first manual, or even for a textbook in the advanced courses of most colleges, and is disqualified for those commencing the study or for general readers by its lack of clearness of statement, technical description and illustration. The language is occasionally labored and wanting in perspicuity. Thus, the statements, "The primitive form of a cell, when without a nucleus or a nucleolus, is called a *cytode*" (p. 6), and "first, epithelial tissue (Fig. 4), consisting of cells of the most primitive form" (p. 7), together indicate that epithelium is composed of cytodes or non-nucleated cells, although the figure from Gegenbauer shows the contrary. "Epithelial cells form the skin of animals" (p. 7); they constitute only a thin outer layer on what is regarded as skin. "Muscular tissue is also composed of cells. . . . From being at first oval, the cells finally become elongated and unite together to form the fibrillæ; these unite into bundles forming muscular fibres. . . . the cells forming the fibrillæ" (p. 8); muscle fibre is unicellular, not having the complex, polycellular construction here set forth, and its development (Stricker, 'Lehre von den Geweben,' pp. 1227-8, Leipzig, 1872) shows that it has no such method of formation. The explanation given above is a pure speculation, advanced as such by Schwann in 1839, and disproved by the observations of Koelliker and others (see Ranvier, 'Traité d'Histologie,' Paris, 1875).

Many institutions will doubtless include this among their reference-books, a use for which it was apparently not designed. It is too deficient in matter on important topics and very unfortunately without exact references to the literature, while the index is far from complete. The same objections lie against it for class-use. The student should know just where to find the authority for the author's statements, or just where he may amplify his knowledge on special subjects. Laboratory work is prescribed without sufficiently describing the instruments and precise methods of manipulation, in default of which its accomplishment is impossible. The finer organs and histology are very much neglected, while even the large organs are often treated in a very brief manner, sometimes with mere mention and without an allusion to their important details. Thus, the student would not be enabled to distinguish many of the most common tissues, and could learn from the anatomical descriptions almost nothing of those interesting and important organs, the eyes of verte-

'Louisiana. By Frances Hodgson Burnett.' New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.

'Rodman the Keeper: Southern Sketches. By Constance Fenimore Woolson.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1880.

'The Heart of It: A Romance of East and West. By William O. Stoddard.' New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1880.

brates, or of the minute parts of their ears. It would, too, have been instructive and entertaining to present something of the "unfolding lines" which the unequal development of these organs in the chief groups of the vertebrate series exhibits. Yet in the chapter on this subject but three-fourths of a page is devoted to the comparative anatomy of ears, and the two and a half lines pertaining to those of vertebrates merely state that they are "two in number and occupy a distinct, permanent position in the skull" (p. 642); while we notice the verbal mistake that the word "eyes" occurs instead of "ears" in saying "The otocysts or simple eyes of worms and mollusks are minute." The author's descriptions (pp. 409, 417, 426, 429, 440) of the brains of fish-like vertebrates are so brief and incorrect that it would have been better to omit them entirely.

The illustrations, though numerous and mostly fair, are chiefly borrowed, and often not of the most suitable kind. More and better diagrammatic, anatomical, and embryological illustrations of an explanatory character are needed. Those made from nature expressly for this book, whether intended as pictures or diagrams, are very poor. No representation of the bats, the cat-family (in spite of the strange effigy labelled cat on p. 567), the dog-family, the salamanders, or the marsupials of our own country are given. Why not have figured the opossum as our typical and only example of the great foreign group to which it belongs, or our *menobranchus* as our most typical amphibian, or an American case-bearing moth and our *mantis* instead of the African insects related to these? The four Cuvierian branches are divided into eight, including the seven branches founded by Leuckart and adopted in Europe, and adding an eighth, unwarranted branch for sponges. The classification is not given beyond the classes except to characterize briefly some of the more important orders. European naturalists will be surprised to find the amoeba-like animals in the group of Foraminifera, and that the author apparently does not yet entirely comprehend the morphology of sponge-individuals, as fully made out by Haeckel, but evidently regards as a single sponge what is really a group of budding individuals grown together in one mass. In the systematic portion of the work considerable attention is given to the development and metamorphoses of animals, but in the chapter especially allotted to this subject it is discussed in a very epitomized manner. Those who prefer their childish philosophy to that of science may regard the author as a very naughty man for accepting and teaching evolution, to which he devotes a chapter.

*The Theatres of Paris.* By J. Brander Matthews. With illustrations, etc. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.)—Some portions of this book have appeared in the *Nation* from time to time, and those who have read them will need no recommendation of it. Mr. Matthews has chosen a subject of great interest to most people, and he has the additional advantage of knowing what he is writing about. The chapters on the Grand Opéra and on the Théâtre-Français, the two most perfect establishments of the kind in the world, are full of valuable details and statistics. Mr. Matthews's appreciation of French actors and of French plays shows judgment and taste. Especially worth the notice of managers and play-goers are his remarks upon the "curse of the star system," and the admirable get-up of a play at the Français, "where the most insignificant parts are filled, if not by first-class actors, by persons who have studied long and know their business." It is a question, on the other hand, whether patriotism or a desire to propitiate this public has not misled him when he doubts whether there are actors in France "who in their respective lines are more richly gifted or better trained" than some in the United States. We might admit the equality of "rich gifts," but the better training is not to be had in this country. The French stage is excellent because the French audience has a cultivated taste; the French are born artists and critics. Our actors play too much to "the groundlings," and sacrifice their art "to make the unskilful laugh." No audience at the Français, the Vaudeville, or the Gymnase would tolerate for a moment the tricks of attitude and of pronunciation, the face-making and the repetition of old gags and threadbare jokes, which seem always to bring down a New York house. An actor is perhaps not to be severely blamed if he gives "the quantity of barren spectators" who make up nine-tenths of the house what pleases them, but this lack of cultivation and taste in the audience is a radical difficulty in the way of really good dramatic representations; and if we may judge of ourselves by the experience of our kinsfolk in England, it is a difficulty which it will take us a long time to overcome.

*On the History, System, and Varieties of Turkish Poetry.* Illustrated by Selections in the Original and in English Paraphrase. With a notice

of the Islamic Doctrine of the Immortality of Woman's Soul in the Future State. By J. W. Redhouse, Esq., M.R.A.S. (London: Trübner & Co. 8vo, pp. 61.)—This little book—originally a lecture delivered before the Royal Society of Literature—is an instance of the animosity with which the wrangling between friends and foes of Beaconsfield's Turkish policy has been carried even into the sphere of polite literature. The author, provoked by the circumstance that the Ottomans have been so much "misrepresented of late by political hypocrisy, religious bigotry, and classical bias," and deeming it "a sin and a crime" to spread such misrepresentations abroad "thoughtlessly, wrongfully, mischievously, in ignorance of their erroneous nature," undertakes the task of vindicating the Moslem subjects of the Sultan from two severe charges—namely, that they have no literature or poetry of their own, and that the faith of Islam teaches them that woman does not possess a soul. The latter charge he endeavors to refute by quotations from the Koran, which may and may not appear conclusive, as is generally the case with quotations from sacred books. In regard to the former accusation he is more convincing and instructive, although wasting a good deal of his limited space on the reproduction of Turkish originals, and too much enthusiasm in extolling the Turks as equally eminent in poetry and war, if not also in science and politics. The particulars which he adduces in evidence are not without value and interest, in spite of his obvious exaggerations in generalizing statements; and some of the poetry introduced in translations goes far to prove the main assertion that the nation so often and so mercilessly assailed by Christian bayonets and invective is not devoid of literary culture or poetic sensibility. The following poem, "The Mirror," by Izzet Molla, appears to us the best of the small collection:

"My mirror shows that matter's forms are but a passing shade;  
With its mute tongue it inculcates the truth that all must fade;  
So purely bright, it takes no stain from glint of outward things;  
My mirror thus may adumbrate the souls of virtue's kings.  
As sage of old, my mirror's sheen, proceeding from one Source,  
Expounds to me the mystic theme: All nature runs its course!  
A candid friend, it ever proves its ore's integrity;  
The mirror pictures to my mind naught else but verity.  
For man's inconstant moods and states, to praise or blame the spheres,  
Is folly; not the mirror, 'tis the face one loves, reverts.  
No trace remains for long from good or evil work of man;  
The mirror's still an emblem true for his life of a span.  
Like poet's heart, confronted with a thing of beauty bright,  
His mirror instantly evolves a counterpart, of light."

*The Life of Alexander Duff, D.D., LL.D.* By George Smith, C.I.E., LL.D. With an introduction by Wm. M. Taylor, D.D. In two volumes. With portraits by Jeans. (New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.)—Dr. Duff was a man of great energy, sincerity, and enthusiasm. His devotion to the missionary work in India was absolute, and within certain limits he was a practical reformer. His theology was stiff even for a Scotch Presbyterian, and great was his alarm on account of the critical conclusions of Prof. Robertson Smith, as embodied in his famous article "The Bible" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; but he had the wit to see that an exclusively religious method of dealing with the missionary problem in India could only lead to narrow and unsatisfactory results. It was his idea that the religion of India must be undermined by general European culture, and the results of his activity, though sadly incommensurate with his zeal and sacrifice, were such as to justify him in his belief. At first, however, his new method met with decided opposition from his ecclesiastical superiors and employers in Scotland, and he was obliged to return there and argue his case before them. He did this with so much eloquence that it may be doubted whether Scotland has had since Chalmers a preacher of so much power as Dr. Duff could easily have developed if all his strength had gone in this direction.

Returning to India he resumed his work, not without serious resistance, but with a manful front for every antagonist. One of the most interesting episodes in the book is that relating to Rammohun Roy, the extent of whose divergence from the creed of Dr. Duff his biographer obscures as much as possible. He is fully persuaded that if Dr. Duff could have met Rammohun Roy when he was younger he could have made him into a Bengalee Luther. As it was, he was only a Bengalee Erasmus. Dr. Duff's visit to America and his labors in southeast Africa are of less interest than his work in India. His dislike of Bishop Colenso is undisguised. The best commentary on this is, perhaps, the Bishop's attitude during the recent troubles in Zululand. The two steel portraits by Jeans are exceedingly interesting, representing, as they do, the young and the old man. Dr. Taylor's introduction is superfluous. It is simply intended to recommend the book to Dr. Taylor's admirers.

*A Brief History of Roman Literature*, for Schools and Colleges. Translated and edited from the German of Hermann Bender, by E. P. Crowell



and H. P. Richardson, Professors of Latin in Amherst College. (Boston: Ginn & Heath. Pp. 152.)—This is a very excellent compendium of the history of Roman literature, well suited to the wants of those teachers who wish a mere outline as a basis of study or lectures. Nor is it merely a dry outline. By judicious selection of facts, and particularly by dismissing the least important authors with a mere mention—and some of them with no mention at all—the author has found it possible to treat the great authors with a certain breadth and fulness. Horace, for example, receives five pages, and Cicero twelve. What is of more importance (the history of literature being too often regarded as nothing but a history of authors), the properly historical chapters are admirable, containing in a very small space a good sketch of the growth of the Roman mind in its relations to literature. There is a good index and a very useful chronological table of Roman authors (classified) at the end of the book. The translators also have added a number of references to English and American books.

*Stimmungsbilder aus dem Vermächtniss einer alten Frau.* Von der Verfasserin der 'Memoiren einer Idealistin.' (Leipzig. 1879. New York: L. W. Schmidt.)—The authoress of this little volume, an enthusiastic advocate of woman's rights, gives in a series of prettily-written essays her views on the position of women in society, in politics, as mothers, etc. She says nothing particularly new or striking; on the contrary, her article on the education of children is a rather weak and diluted synopsis of Rousseau's 'Émile,' and her essay on the political rights of women an exaggerated expression of Stuart Mill's ideas. Though undoubtedly a kindly-disposed, warm-hearted, and well-read woman, she nevertheless takes a rather gloomy, not to say pessimistic, view of things in general. She cites, of course, Goethe's well-known declaration, that he had hardly been happy for four weeks during his life. In an unguarded moment of accidental despondency the happiest, most favored of all public men, who,

during a life of eighty-three years of unparalleled success in his career, hardly ever experienced the bitterness of a disappointment, uttered these entirely untrue words, which have been quoted, or rather misquoted, hundreds of times by persons of unsound digestion or suffering from a temporary and petty affliction. There is a very pure and kindly motherly spirit in these essays; they are addressed to women, and will no doubt afford a certain amount of superficial instruction and light entertainment to some readers.

\*. Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books on the wrapper.

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Adams (W. H. D.), Woman's Work and Worth.....	(Cassell, Petter & Galpin) \$2 60
Booth (Miss M. L.), History of the City of New York.....	(E. P. Dutton & Co.) 4 00
Bradbury (W. E.), Bradbury's Elementary Arithmetic.....	(Thompson, Brown & Co.) 1 25
Burnett (Mrs. F. H.), Louisiana: a Tale.....	(Chas. Scribner's Sons) 1 10
Cambridge Bible for Schools.....	(Macmillan & Co.) 1 10
Campbell (L.), Sophocles.....	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Cooley (F. M.), General Principles of Constitutional Law in U. S. A.....	(Little, Brown & Co.)
Cox (S. S.), Free Land and Free Trade.....	(G. P. Putnam's Sons)
Douglas (L. G.), Jeannette: a Venetian Memoir.....	(Geo. A. Leavitt, Jr.)
Drayton (A. M.), and McNeill (J.), Brain and Mind.....	(S. R. Wells & Co.) 1 50
Fisher (Prof. G. P.), Discussions in History and Theology.....	(Chas. Scribner's Sons) 3 00
Frederick (Mrs.), Hints to Housewives.....	(Macmillan & Co.) 90
Froude (J. A.), Bunyan.....	(Harper & Bros.) 75
Geddes (J.), History of the Administration of John De Witt, Vol. I.....	(Harper & Bros.) 2 50
Hartshorne (H.), Our Homes.....	(Presley Blakiston) 50
Hints on Advocacy.....	(W. H. Stevenson) 1 50
Hodgkin (T.), Italy and her Invaders, 2 vols.....	(Macmillan & Co.) 9 00
Koehler (S. R.), History of Painting from the Time of the Egyptians to the Close of the Eighteenth Century.....	(J. P. Frang & Co.)
Lawson (J. D.), On the Contracts of Common Carriers.....	(W. H. Stevenson) 5 50
Lippincott's Gazetteer of the World, new ed.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) 10 00
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